THE HISTORY

OF THE

MORAVIAN MISSION

AMONG THE

INDIANS IN NORTH AMERICA,

FROM ITS

COMMENCEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH A

PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS.

COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BY

A MEMBER OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

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PREFACE.

Of the various Missions hitherto established by the Church of the United (or Moravian) Brethren, that among the Indians in North America is unquestionably one of the most remarkable, whether we consider the vicissitudes it has experienced, and the persecutions it has suffered, or the character of the nations which are its object. A history of that Mission to the year 1787 was published in German by Bishop Loskiel, and translated into English by the late Rev. C. I. La Trobe. It is the basis of the present volume. Valuable information has also been derived from Heckewelder's "Narrative," and from Holmes's "Historical Sketches," &c.; but the "Periodical Accounts of the Missions," published in London, and the American "Missionary Intelligencer," have chiefly supplied the materials for the continuation of the history to the present time.

The preliminary account of the Indian Tribes is principally the result of the observations of the Missionaries employed among them; but various works relative to the aborigines of North America have been examined and compared with it.

The design of the compiler has been to render the History of the Mission among the Indians more accessible, and to excite a still greater interest in favour of the work which is carried on by the United Brethren in Heathen lands—if this object be attained his labour will have received a sufficient reward.

Dec. 21, 1837.

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PRELIMINARY

ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS.

THE numerous nations who inhabited the Continent of North America when it was discovered by the Europeans, are comprehended under the general name of *Indians*. Of their origin there is no certainty,* though it has been investigated

* Dr. Robertson supposes that they came from Tartary in Asia; others have attempted to prove their descent from the Ten Tribes of Israel, who were carried into captivity by the Assyrians: and a late writer has shewn, with great ingenuity, that in all probability America was peopled within 800 years after the Deluge, and that not until the days of Peleg, was the earth so physically divided by the waters, as to cut off the communication by land between the Old World and the New. —The traditions of the Indians themselves seem to imply that they came from some other country. The Iroquois relate, that the Indians formerly lived under ground, but hearing accidentally of a fine country above, they left their subterranean habitations, and took possession of the surface. The Delawares say, that the heavens are inhabited by men, and that a pregnant woman had been put away by her husband, and thrown down upon the earth, where she was delivered of twins, and thus by degrees the earth was poepled. The Nantikoks pretend, that seven Indians had found themselves all on a sudden sitting on the sea-coast, but knew not how they came there, whether they were created on the spot, or came from some other place beyond the seas, and that by these the country was peopled. Others affirm, that the first Indians had their origin from the waters.—According to Heckewelder, the Lenni-Lenape have a tradition that their ancestors resided many hundred years ago, in a very distant part of the American Continent. For some reason they determined on emigrating to the eastward. After a long journey, and frequent halts, they arrived at the Mississippi, where they fell in with the Iroquois, who had likewise emigrated from a distant country. The two nations united in a league against the Alligewi, a remarkably tall and stout race of people, who opposed their further progress. A long and bloody war ensued, during which the Alligewi fortified their towns, and erected military works in various places. But at length they were entirely defeated by the allies, and fled down the Mississippi, from whence they never returned to disturb their conquerors.

by many learned men. The Delawares and Iroquois,* were found to be the most powerful; the rest of the nations being united by various affinities either to the one or the other of these two.

The country inhabited by the Delawares and Iroquois lies between the 37th and 48th degree of north latitude, and the 77th and 92d west longitude; its length being about 800, and its greatest breadth 1100 miles. It is bounded on the east by New York and Pennsylvania; on the south by the Ohio; on the west by the Mississippi; and by Canada on the north.† This part of America is remarkably well watered, and it includes the large Canadian lakes, Superior, Huron, Michigan, Erie, and Ontario. The climate though cold in winter, is extremely hot in summer, but sudden changes from heat to cold are frequent.

In general, the country of the Iroquois and Delawares is very fruitful, but they bestow little labour upon its cultivation, as they live chiefly by hunting and fishing.

The North American Indians resemble each other both in *bodily* and *mental qualifications*. The men are mostly slender, middle-sized, handsome, and straight, there being few deformed or crippled among them. The women are short, not so handome, and rather clumsier in appearance than the men. Their colour is a reddish brown, nearly resembling copper, but in different shades. Some are of a brown yellow, not much differing from the mulattoes; some light brown, hardly to be known from a brown Eu-

* The Delawares call themselves Lenni-Lenape, that is, *Indian Men*; they are divided into three tribes, the Unami, the Wuralachtikos, and the Monsys. The Iroquois received their name from the French; but the English call them the *Six Nations*, as they consist of the following tribes, viz. Mohawks, Oneida, Onondago, Cajuga, Senneka, and Tuscarora. The most noted of the other nations are the Mahikans, Shawanose, Cherokees, Chippewas, Hurons, and Creeks.

† The Indians no longer occupy the same extent of territory, as when the first missionaries arrived in the country; the chief part is in the possession of the United States and Great Britain. Their numbers are also greatly reduced, many of the smaller tribes being nearly extinct, or else incorporated with the more powerful; and among these, the influence of the white people who live in their vicinity has produced a very striking change.

ropean, except by their hair and eyes. The former is jet black, stiff, lank and coarse, almost like-horse-hair. They grow grey in old age. Hairs, except upon their heads, they consider as a deformity, and are continually rooting them out, so that at length there are scarcely any visible. Their eyes are large and black, and as savages, the men have a fierce and dreadful countenance. Their features are regular and not disagreeable, but the cheek bones are rather prominent, especially in the women. Both have very white teeth.

In point of strength they far excel the South Americans and West Indians. The men have a firm walk; a light step, and run remarkably swift. Their smell, sight, and hearing is very acute, their memory strong, and the powers of their imagination lively. They comprehend whatever belongs to their manner of living, or tends to their supposed advantage, with the greatest ease, and their scrupulous attention to every needful accomplishment, to which they are trained up from their infancy, gives them many great advantages over other nations. Indeed they have but few objects which require their whole attention, and therefore it is less divided. They have given many instances of the greatness of their mental powers, and of the accuracy of their deliberation and judgment. Some of them display much good sense in their commerce and conversation with strangers, and act with strict conformity to the rules of justice and equity, which proves that they see things in the proper light.

Character.—Though the Indians are uncultivated, yet perhaps no heathen nation, in its moral conduct, exhibits a greater show of goodness and virtue. This pre-eminence will appear upon the slightest comparison between them and other heathen, and the following remarks made by the missionaries, after many years experience and an intimate acquaintance with them, will confirm it.

In common life and conversation the Indians observe great decency. They usually treat one another and strangers with kindness and civility, and without empty compliments. Their whole behaviour appears solid and prudent. In mat-

ters of consequence they seem to speak and act with the most cool and serious deliberation, avoiding all appearance of precipitancy. But upon closer examination, their caution appears to rise chiefly from suspicion, and their coolness is affected. They are perfect masters of the art of dissembling. If an Indian has lost his whole property by fire or any other calamity, he speaks of it as he would of the most trivial occurrence: yet his pride cannot always conceal his sorrow.

In the converse of both sexes, the greatest decency and propriety is observed. At least nothing lascivious or indecent is openly allowed, so that in this respect it cannot be denied but that they excel most nations. But in secret they are, nevertheless, guilty of fornication, and even of unnatural crimes.

They are sociable and friendly, and a mutual intercourse subsists between families. Quarrels, sarcastical and offensive behaviour, are carefully avoided. They never put any one publicly to the blush, nor reproach even a noted murderer. Their common conversation turns upon hunting, fishing, and affairs of state. No one interrupts his neighbour in speaking, and they listen very attentively to news, whether true or false. This is one reason, why they are so fond of receiving strangers, but no inquiry is made about news, till they have smoked one pipe of tobacco. They never curse and swear in their conversation, nor have they any such expressions for it in their language, as are common in other nations.

By their behaviour it appears as if the greatest confidence subsisted among them. They frequently leave their implements and game in the open air, for many days; not altogether because they place much dependance upon the honesty and faithfulness of their neighbours, for stealing is not an uncommon practice among them, but because they highly resent the least idea of suspicion. They therefore pretend to guard the game merely from the attack of wild beasts.

All Indians are equally noble and free. The only difference consists in wealth, age, dexterity, courage, and office.

Whoever furnishes much wampum for the chiefs, is considered as a person of quality and riches. Age is everywhere much respected, for, according to their ideas, long life and wisdom are always connected together. Young Indians endeavour by presents to gain instruction from the aged, and to learn from them how to attain old age. However, the Indian youth is much degenerated in this respect. A clever hunter, a valiant warrior, and an intelligent chief, are also much honoured; and no Indian, with all his notions of liberty, ever refuses to follow and obey his captain, or his chief.

Presents are very acceptable to an Indian, but he is not willing to acknowledge himself under any obligations to the donor, and even takes it amiss if they are discontinued. The hospitality of the Indians is well known. It extends even to strangers, who take refuge amongst them. They count it a most sacred duty, from which no one is exempted. Whoever refuses relief to any one, commits a grievous offence, and not only makes himself detested and abhorred by all, but liable to revenge from the offended person.

In their conduct towards their enemies they are cruel and inexorable, and when enraged, bent upon nothing but murder and bloodshed. They are, however, remarkable for concealing their passions, and waiting for a convenient opportunity of gratifying them. But then their fury knows no bounds. If they cannot satisfy their resentment, they even call upon their friends and posterity to do it. The longest space of time cannot cool their wrath, nor the most distant place of refuge afford security to their enemy.

Fornication, adultery, lying, and cheating, they consider as heinous and scandalous offences, and punish them in various ways.

A thief must restore whatever he has stolen; but if he is too poor, or cannot be brought to justice, his relations must pay for him. In case of violent robberies, the sorcerers are consulted, and these pretend to send the offender out of the world by an inexplicable process.

Since the Indians have taken so much to drinking rum,

murders are more frequent. An Indian feast is seldom concluded without bloodshed. Though they lay all the blame to the rum, yet murder committed in drunkenness is severely punished. For the murder of a man 100 yards of wampum, and for that of a woman 200 yards must be paid by the murderer. If he is too poor, which is commonly the case, or if his friends cannot or will not assist him, he must fly from the resentment of the relations. But if any one has murdered his own relation, he escapes without much difficulty; for the family, who alone have a right to take revenge, do not choose by too severe a punishment, to deprive their race of two members at once, and thus to weaken their influence. They rather endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, and even often justify the deed.

Some Indians, who have long resided among the white people, have learnt to work in iron, and make hatchets, axes, and other tools, without any regular instruction. Yet few will submit to hard labour, neither their education nor their wants inclining them to industry and application. In general, the men love ease; and even hunting, (though their chief employment) is attended to but for a few months of the year; the rest of their time is chiefly spent in idleness. The women are more employed, for the whole burthen of housekeeping lies upon them.

The honour and welfare of the nation is considered by the Indians as a most important concern. For though they are joined together neither by force nor compact, yet they consider themselves as one nation, of which they have an exalted idea, and profess great attachment to their particular tribe. Independence appears to them to be the grand prerogative of Indians, considered either collectively or as individuals. They frankly own the superiority of the Europeans in several arts, but despise them, as submitting to laborious employments. The advantages they possess in hunting, fishing, and even in their moral conduct, appear to them superior to any European refinements. This public spirit of the Indians produces the most noble exertions in favour of their own people. They dread no danger; suffer any hardships, and meet torments and death itself

with composure, in defence of their own country. Even in their last moments they preserve the greatest appearance of insensibility, in honour of their nation, boast of their intrepidity, and with savage pride defy the greatest sufferings and tortures which their enemies can inflict upon them.

Though they esteem the Europeans as a very industrious and ingenious people, yet in general they consider them as enemies. They are extremely loath to exchange their manner of living for that of the whites, and maintain, that as a fish was never intended by God to adopt the life of a fowl, so an Indian was never destined to live like a European.

Language.—It appears that the Delaware* and Iroquois are the principal languages spoken throughout North America, Labrador excepted, and that all others are dialects of them. The missionaries at least, who were particularly attentive to this subject, have never met with any which had not some similitude with one or the other: but the Delaware language bears no resemblance to the Iroquois.†

The language of the Delawares has an agreeable sound, both in common conversation, and public delivery; though there is a peculiarity in the pronunciation of each of the three different tribes. The Iroquois also have one common language, though each of the six nations speaks a different dialect: however, they all understand each other with ease. The languages of many other Indian nations are nearly related to the Iroquois, especially the Huron, which seems to differ only in pronunciation. But the

* It is asserted by some that the Delaware language bears a close resemblance to the ancient Hebrew; and this has been brought forward as a strong proof of the descent of the Indians from the Ten Tribes of Israel.

† Adair, in his History of the American Indians, states, that "two far distant Indian nations, who understand not a word of each other's language, will intelligibly converse together, and contract engagements without any interpreters, in such a surprising manner as is scarcely credible."—Heckewelder says, the Indians generally have a language of signs, and can understand each other in this way, when they are unable to comprehend each other's speech.

Cherokees speak a compound of the Shawanose, Iroquois, Huron, and others.*

All these languages however are subject to innovation, owing to the intercourse of the different tribes or their connexion with the Europeans. A mixed language was thus formed by the intermarrying of the French and Indians in Canada, which was countenanced by the French government.

In things relating to common life, these languages are remarkably copious; but in a general point of view, they are, as far as we know, very deficient in expression, though not all equally poor. The Indians have of course no terms but for the things in which they are conversant and engaged, and these are but few. Nor do they take any pains to enrich their language, in proportion as their knowledge extends, but rather choose to express themselves in a figurative or descriptive manner. Thus the language of their orators, who most sensibly feel the want of proper expressions, is full of images, and they find even gesture and grimace necessary to convey their sentiments. When they see new objects, they commonly observe, that these are things which have no name. Occasionally a council is held to consult about a term, descriptive of a new thing. Thus they have chosen a word to express *brown colour*, signifying *the middle between black and white*. For *buckles* they have invented a word meaning *metal shoe strings*.

The want of proper expressions in spiritual things, of

* Not many years since, an intelligent Cherokee of the name of Guest, invented an alphabet of the language of his countrymen, which is now in common use. This Indian's alphabet, it is said, was the fruit of his own unaided ingenuity, and as such is remarkable, although it consists of a greater number of characters than are absolutely necessary or even convenient. There are 85 different signs, many of which however are syllabic. All the elementary sounds or letters of the language might be represented by a much smaller number of characters. This alphabet, however, has come to constitute the fixed written language of the Cherokees, and a newspaper called the Cherokee Phœnix has been periodically printed from types of these characters cast in Boston.—See *Amer. Bib. Rep.* No. 27.

which they were totally ignorant, was most perplexing. But since the Gospel has been preached among them, the languages of the Delawares and Iroquois have gained much in this respect.

There are no rules of oratory laid down in the Indian language, yet their orators must be well exercised, before they can gain applause. In their public delivery, they speak with a very pompous and elevated tone, in which the Iroquois excel all other Indians. In matters relating to their own affairs, in which they are well versed, both they and the Delawares speak with great clearness and precision, and so concise, that great circumlocution is required to convey the full meaning of their expressions in a European language. If they intend to speak in an obscure and reserved manner, they can say so much in few words, that even the Indians themselves must study the true sense of their allusions. The language of the Iroquois appears more easy to be learned than that of the Delawares.*

As they have no written language, neither the Delawares nor Iroquois know any thing of their own history, but what has been verbally transmitted to them by their fathers and grandfathers. This they carefully repeat to their children, and to impress it more upon their minds, dress up their story in a variety of figures. When the Delawares speak with the Europeans about their ancestors, they boast that they have been mighty warriors, and exhibited many feats of valour. They delight in describing their genealogies, and are so well versed in them, that they mark every branch of the family, with the greatest precision.

* The following is the Lord's Prayer in the Delaware language, as translated by the missionary Zeisberger:—Ki Wetochemelenk, talli epian Awossagame. Machelendasutsch Ktellewunsowoagan Ksakimawoagan pejewigetsch. Ktelite hewoagan legetsch talli Achquidhackamike, elgiqui leek talli Awossagame. Milineen elgischquik gunigischuk Achpoan. Woak miwelendammauwineen 'n Tschannauchsowoagannena elgiqui niluna miwelendammauwenk nik Tschetschanilawequengik. Woak katschi 'npawuneen li Achquetschiechtowoaganüng, tschukund Ktennieen untschi Medhicküng. Alod Knihillatamen Ksakimawoagan, woak Ktallewussowoagan, woak Ktallowilüssowoagan, ne wuntschi hallemiwi li hallamagamik. Amen!

But though they are ignorant of the art of reading and writing,* they have invented something like hieroglyphics, and have also strings and belts of wampum, to enable them to convey their ideas to a distant nation, or to preserve the memory of remarkable events.

Their *hieroglyphics* are characteristic figures, which are more frequently painted upon trees than cut in stone. They are intended, either to caution against danger, to mark a place of safety, to direct the wanderer into the right path, to record a remarkable transaction, or to commemorate the deeds and achievements of their celebrated heroes, and are as intelligible to them, as a written account is to us. For this purpose they generally choose a tall well-grown tree, standing upon an eminence, and peeling the bark on one side, scrape the wood till it becomes white and clean. They then draw with ruddle, the figure of the hero whose exploits they wish to celebrate, clad in his armour, and at his feet as many men without heads or arms as fell by his own hand. These drawings may last above fifty years, and it is a great consolation to the dying warrior, that his glorious deeds will be preserved so long, for the admiration and imitation of posterity. As every Indian understands their meaning, a traveller cannot gratify the feelings of his Indian guides in a more acceptable manner, than by stopping to examine monuments of this kind, and attending patiently to their extravagant accounts of the prowess of their warriors. Other paintings point out the places where a company of Indians have been hunting, showing the nights they spent there, the number of deer, bears, &c. they killed during the hunt. Even if a party of travelling Indians have spent but one night in the woods, it may be easily known, not only by the structure of their sleeping huts, but by their marks on the trees, to what tribe they be-

* When treaties of peace, or contracts, are required to be signed by the chiefs, they get others to sign their names. Then each puts his mark, which is often nothing but a crooked line, or a cross, or sometimes the figure of a tortoise, or a turkey's foot. But many of them have now learned to write.

longed: for they always leave a mark behind, made either with ruddle or charcoal.

Wampum is an Iroquois word, meaning a muscle. A number of these muscles strung together is called a *string of wampum*, which, when a fathom long, is termed a fathom or belt, but the word *string* is commonly used, whether it be long or short. Before the Europeans came into North America, the Indians made their strings of wampum chiefly of small pieces of wood of equal size, stained either black or white. Few were made of muscles, which were esteemed very valuable, and were difficult to make; for, not having proper tools, they spent much time in finishing them, and still their work had a clumsy appearance. But the Europeans soon contrived to make strings of wampum, both neat and elegant, and in great abundance. These they bartered with the Indians for other goods, and found this traffic very advantageous. The Indians immediately gave up the use of the old wooden substitutes for wampum, and procured those made of muscles, which, though fallen in price, were always accounted valuable.

These muscles are chiefly found on the coast of Virginia and Maryland, and are valued according to their colour, which is violet, and white. The former are sometimes of so dark a shade, that they pass for black, and are double the price of the white. Having first sawed them into square pieces about a quarter of an inch in length, and an eighth in thickness, they grind them round or oval. Then a hole being bored lengthways through each, large enough to admit a wire, whipcord, or thin thong, they are strung like beads, and the *string of wampum* is completed. Four or six strings joined in one breadth, and fastened to each other with fine thread, make a *belt of wampum*, being three or four inches wide, and three feet long. But the length and width is determined by the importance of the subject, which these belts are intended either to explain or confirm, or by the dignity of the persons to whom they are to be delivered. Every thing of moment transacted at solemn councils, either between the Indians themselves, or with the Europeans,

is ratified, and made valid, by strings and belts of wampum.*

Whenever a speaker has pronounced some important sentence, he delivers a string, adding, "I give this string of wampum as a confirmation of what I have spoken." But the chief subject of his discourse he confirms with a belt. The answers given to a speech thus delivered, must also be confirmed by strings and belts of the same size and number as those received. Neither the colour, nor the other qualities of the wampum are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are meant to confirm. The brown or deep violet, called black by the Indians, always means something of severe and doubtful import; but white is the colour of peace. Thus if a string or belt of wampum is intended to confirm a warning against evil, or an earnest reproof, it is delivered in black. When a nation is called upon to go to war, or war declared against it, the belt is black, or marked with red, called by them the *colour of blood*, having in the middle the figure of a hatchet, in white wampum.

The Indian women are very dexterous in weaving the strings of wampum into belts, and marking them with different figures, perfectly agreeing with the different subjects contained in the speech. To distinguish one belt from the other, each has its peculiar mark. No belt, except the war-belt, must show any red colour. These strings and belts of wampum are also documents, by which the Indians remember the chief articles of the treaties made either between themselves, or with the white people. They refer to them as to public records, carefully preserving them in a chest made for that purpose. At certain seasons they meet to study their meaning, and to renew the ideas, of which they were an emblem and confirmation. On such occasions they sit down around the chest, take out one string or belt after the other, handing it about to every person present, and, that they may all comprehend its meaning, re-

* Formerly they used to give sanction to their treaties by delivering a wing of some large bird; and this custom still prevails among the more western nations.

peat the words pronounced on its delivery in their whole connexion. By these means they are enabled to remember the promises reciprocally made by the different parties. And as it is their custom to admit even the young boys, who are related to the chiefs, into these assemblies, they become early acquainted with all the affairs of the state; and thus the contents of their documents are transmitted to posterity, and cannot easily be forgotten.

Besides the above-mentioned methods, by which the Indians commemorate certain events; they likewise have songs in praise of their heroes, extolling their glorious exploits. They teach them to their children; and those who love poetry compose more, so that there is no want of them.

The Indians are not wholly unacquainted with *arithmetic*. There are indeed some nations in North America who can count to ten or twenty only, and if they wish to express a greater number, point to the hair of their heads, signifying that the number exceeds their powers of calculation. But those who trade with the Europeans have learned to calculate pretty well. The Cherokees count to one hundred. The Iroquois and Delawares understand but little of our ciphers and letters, but they can count to thousands and hundreds of thousands. They count regularly to ten, make a mark, proceed to the next ten, and so on to the end of the account:—then, by adding the tens, they find hundreds, thousands, &c. &c. The women count upon their fingers.

Most of them determine a number of years by so many winters, summers, springs, autumns, since such an event took place. Few of them know exactly how many years old they are after thirty. Some reckon from the time of a hard frost, or a deep fall of snow in such a year; from a war with the Indians, or from the building of a fort or a town.

They know as little of *geography* as of other sciences. Some imagine, that the earth swims in the sea, or that an enormous tortoise carries the world on its back. But they have an idea of maps, and even delineate plans of countries,

known to them, upon birch bark, with tolerable exactness. The distance from one place to another they never mark by miles, but by day's journies, each comprehending about fifteen or twenty miles. These they divide into half or quarter day's journies, and mark them upon their maps with all possible accuracy. When they send parties to war, or to hunt, they can describe the road, and inform them pretty exactly concerning the time required to perform the journey.

An Indian seldom loses his way in the woods, though some are between two and three hundred miles in length, and as many in breadth. Besides knowing the course of the rivers and brooks, and the situation of the hills, he is safely directed by the branches and moss growing upon the trees; for towards the south the branches are fuller and stouter, and there is less moss upon the bark than towards the north. But if the sun shines, he wants no other guide.

They mark the boundaries of their different territories chiefly by mountains, lakes, rivers, and brooks, and, if possible, in a straight line.

Among the stars, they know the polar star, and direct their course by it in the night. When the sun sets, they think it goes under water. When the moon does not shine, they say she is dead, and some call the three last days before the new moon, the naked days. Her first appearance is called her resurrection. If either sun or moon is eclipsed, they say, the sun or the moon is in a swoon.

The Delawares and Iroquois divide the year into winter, spring, summer, and autumn, and each quarter into months. But their calculations are very imperfect, nor can they agree when to begin the new year. Most of them begin with the spring, some with any other quarter, and many, who are acquainted with the Europeans, begin with our new year's-day. However, they all agree in giving such names to the months as express the season of the year.

They do not divide their months into weeks, nor count the days, but always the nights. An Indian says, "I was travelling so many nights." But if he did not stay from

home all the night, he says, "I was a day's journey from home." By the course of the sun, they determine the time of the day, with nearly as much exactness as we do by a watch. An Indian says, "I will be with you to-morrow when the sun stands in such a place."

They know nothing of the causes of natural phenomena; nor do they desire to be informed of them. Thunder they conceive to be a spirit dwelling in the mountains, and now and then sallying forth to make himself heard. Others imagine it to proceed from the crowing of a monstrous turkey cock in the heavens; others from enraged evil spirits.

The Indians, in general, trouble themselves very little about the works of art. They neither value nor admire any thing except it have a reference to hunting, fishing, or fighting. To these their attention may be fixed, and nothing gratifies their curiosity in a higher degree. They wish immediately to imitate it, and many an Indian, who has never seen how this or the other piece of workmanship is contrived, attempts in his own way to execute it, and spares neither labour nor time in the work. Thus many of the Delawares and Iroquois have learnt to make very good rifle-barrels of common fowling-pieces, and keep them likewise in repair.

The canoes of the Indians may be reckoned among the first productions of their art. The best are made of the bark of birch, fastened upon light wooden ribs, and strengthened by cross pieces. The bark is sewed together with the slender fibres of roots, and all crevices carefully filled with splinters, and caulked with turpentine. The seats are placed across, as in a European boat. They even build canoes large enough for twenty rowers, and so light, that two or four me.. are able to carry them. A canoe, which may be carried by two Indians, will carry two thousand pounds freight. These light vessels are very serviceable for trade, both to the Indians and Europeans, on account of the number of falls in the rivers, which make it necessary to unload and carry both canoes and goods, perhaps many miles by land, before they can venture into the water again.

The present *religious opinions* of the Indians differ in many respects from those of their forefathers. It is replete with gross absurdity, and entirely unconnected. The prevailing opinion is, that there is one God,* or, as they call him, one great and good Spirit, who has created the heavens and the earth, and made man and every other creature: and this great and important truth is preserved among them, both by tradition, and by their own observation.

They represent God as almighty, and able to do as much good as he pleases; nor do they doubt, but that he is graciously and mercifully disposed towards men; because he imparts power to the plants to grow, causes rain and sunshine, and gives fish and venison to man for his support. They are also fully convinced, that God requires of them to do good and to avoid evil.

Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. From the accounts of the oldest Indians, it appears, that whenever war was in contemplation, they used to admonish each other to hearken to the good, and not to the evil spirits, the former always recommending peace. According to the missionaries they seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country.† They consider him as a very powerful spirit, but unable to do good, and therefore call him *The Evil One*.

About eighty years ago, a great change took place in the religious opinions of the Indians. Some preachers of their own nation pretended to have received revelations from above, to have travelled into heaven, and conversed with God.

* "No idea is more unfounded than that the Indians worshipped but one God. This notion has been derived from the advocates of the Jewish descent of this race, who have perverted every fact that came to their hands, as far as I have been able to examine this matter."—*M'Culloch's Researches*, p. 102.

† This is very doubtful. At least several of the Indian tribes appear to have believed in a powerful evil spirit, (the author of all their misfortunes,) previous to the arrival of Europeans, though their ideas respecting him may have been afterwards modified.—See *M'Culloch, Hist. of Virginia by a Native, Hunter's Captivity, &c.*

They gave different accounts of their exploits on the journey, but all agreed in this, that no one could enter into heaven without great danger: for the road, say they, runs close by the gates of hell. There the Devil lies in ambush, and snatches at every one, who is going to God. Now those who have passed by this dangerous place unhurt, come first to the Son of God, and through him to God himself, from whom they pretend to have received a commandment to instruct the Indians.* These teachers mark two roads upon a deer-skin, both leading to heaven, one for the Indians and the other for the white people. They say that the latter used to go a great way round about, and the road for the Indians was then the shortest, but that now, the white people having blocked up the road for the Indians, they are obliged to make a long circuit to come to God. Upon the same deer-skin they likewise make the figure of a balance, to represent the deceitful traffic carried on by the white people with the Indians. This rude picture is, as it were, their book, and lies spread before them, when they preach to their countrymen.

In their ideas of man, they make a proper distinction between body and soul, the latter of which is considered by them as a spiritual and immortal being. That they even suppose a resurrection of the body, may be inferred from their usual manner of expressing themselves. when they say, "We Indians cannot die eternally; even Indian corn, buried in the ground, is vivified and rises again." Many believe in the transmigration of souls, and imagine that

* Some of their preachers confessed, that they had not reached the dwelling of God, but had however approached near enough to hear the cocks crow, and to see the smoke of the chimneys in heaven. Other teachers contradicted this doctrine, and maintained that no one knew the dwelling-place of God himself, but only that of the good spirits, which is situated above the blue sky. They relate, that two valiant warriors had travelled into those parts many years ago, but upon their return, refused to give any account of what they had seen and heard; and two Indians, who were dead for several days, declared upon their revival that they had been in the habitation of the good spirits, and that the bright track called the milky way, was the road to it. This led to a most glorious city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed every possible good in great abundance.

they were with God before their birth, and came from him, or that they have been formerly in the world, and are now living over again. They believe the old doctrine of their ancestors, that all Indians, who have led a good life, will come to a good place after death, where they will have every thing in abundance, and may dance and make merry; but that all, who have lived in wickedness, will rove about without any fixed abode, and be restless, dissatisfied, and melancholy.

However, their most exalted notions concerning the happy state of the good Indians in heaven, are not able to deliver them from an unusual horror at the thought of death. Their consternation is particularly visible during a storm of thunder and lightning. This may also be deemed the most powerful motive for their religious worship, and the principal cause of the ascendancy gained by the above-mentioned teachers over their minds, who not only enjoined a total cessation from fornication, adultery, murder, and robbery, when they promised their hearers a place among the good spirits, but gave the poor people vomits, as the most expeditious mode of cleansing them thoroughly from sin. Some Indians who believed in these absurdities vomited so often, that their lives were endangered by it. They were further strictly exhorted to fast, and to take nothing but physic for many days. Few indeed persevered in attending to so severe a regimen.

Other teachers advised their hearers to suffer themselves to be beaten with twelve different sticks, from the soles of their feet to their necks, that their sins might pass from them through their throats. Some went even so far as to make themselves equal with God; affirming that the weal and woe of the Indians depended upon their will and pleasure, and demanded the most strict observance of their dictates. Their deluded followers, possessing the highest veneration for them, brought them many presents.

But the walk and conduct of these teachers of morality altogether disagreed with their exhortations to lead a good and virtuous life. Among other vile practices, they publicly introduced polygamy, and during their sermons,

had several of their wives sitting round about them. It is a lamentable truth, that since that period, adultery, fornication, and other such abominations, have been more frequent among the Indians than before.

However, the respect shown to these preachers lasted only till they were indiscreet enough to promise to those who should obey their doctrines, success in hunting and in every other undertaking; power to walk on the water as on dry ground, and rich harvests from ill-sown land.

Sacrifices made with a view to pacify God and the subordinate deities are among the religious ceremonies of the Indians. These sacrifices are of very ancient date, and considered in so sacred a light, that unless they are performed in proper time and in a manner acceptable to the Deity, they suppose illness, misfortunes, and death itself, would certainly befal them and their families. But they have neither priests regularly appointed, nor temples. At general and solemn sacrifices, the oldest men perform the offices of priests, but in private parties, each man bringing a sacrifice is priest himself. Instead of a temple, a large dwelling-house is fitted up for the purpose.

The missionaries have not found rank polytheism, or gross idolatry, to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol. This is the *Manitto*, representing in wood the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, or a head as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house.

But they understand by the word *manitto*, every being to which an offering is made, especially all good spirits. They also look upon the elements, almost all animals, and even some plants, as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power.

They sacrifice to a hare, because, according to report, the first ancestor of the Indian tribes had that name. To Indian corn they sacrifice bear's flesh, but to deer and

bears, Indian corn; to the fishes, small pieces of bread in the shape of fishes: but they positively deny that they pay any adoration to these subordinate good spirits, and affirm that they only worship the true God through them: For God, say they, does not require men to pay offerings or adoration immediately to him. He has therefore made known his will in dreams, notifying to them, what beings they ought to consider as *manittos*, and what offerings to make to them.

The *manittos* are also considered as tutelar spirits. Every Indian has one or more, which he conceives to be peculiarly given to assist him and make him prosper. One has in a dream received the sun as his tutelar spirit, another the moon; a third, an owl; a fourth, a buffaloe; and so on. An Indian is dispirited and considers himself as forsaken by God, till he has received a tutelar spirit in a dream; but those who have been thus favoured, are full of courage, and proud of their powerful ally.

Among the feasts and sacrifices of the Indians, five are the most remarkable, and each has its peculiar ceremonies. I will describe them as held among the Delawares.

The first sacrificial feast is held by a whole family or their friends once in two years, commonly in autumn, seldom in winter. Besides the members of the family, they sometimes invite their neighbours from the adjacent towns, and, as their connexions are large, each Indian has an opportunity of attending more than one family feast in a year. The head of the family must provide every thing. He calculates the requisite number of deer and bears, and sends the young people into the woods to procure them. When they have completed their numbers, they carry the booty home, in solemn procession, depositing it in the house of sacrifice. The women are meanwhile engaged in preparing fire-wood for roasting or boiling, and long dry reed grass for seats. As soon as the guests are all assembled and seated, the boiled meat is served up in large kettles, with bread made of Indian corn, and distributed by the servants. The rule is, that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice, must be eaten altogether and nothing left.

A small quantity of melted fat only, is poured by the oldest men into the fire, and in this the main part of the offering consists. The bones are burnt, lest the dogs should get any of them. After dinner the men and women dance with much decency. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise-shell filled with pebbles. The burthen of his song consists of dreams, and a recital of all the names of the *manittos*, and those things which are most useful to the Indians. When the first singer is weary, he sits down, and is relieved by another. Thus this feasting is sometimes continued for three or four nights together, beginning in the afternoon and lasting till the next morning.

The second feast differs from the former only in this, that the men dance almost naked, their bodies being daubed all over with white clay.

At the third feast, ten or more tanned deer-skins are given to as many old men or women, who wrap themselves in them, and stand before the house, with their faces turned to the east, praying God with a loud voice to reward their benefactors.

The fourth sacrifice is made to a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinion, is never satisfied. The guests are therefore obliged to eat all the bear's flesh, and drink the melted fat, without leaving any thing, which is frequently followed by indigestion and vomiting.

The fifth festival is celebrated in honour of fire, which they consider as the first parent of all Indian nations. Twelve *manittos* attend him as subordinate deities, being partly animals and partly vegetables. The chief ceremony in celebrating this festival is, that a large oven is built in the midst of the house of sacrifice, consisting of twelve poles each of a different species of wood. These they stick into the ground, tie them together at the top, and cover them entirely with blankets, joined close together, so that the whole appears like a baker's oven, high enough nearly to admit a man standing upright. After dinner the oven is heated with twelve large stones made red hot. Then twelve men creep into it, and remain there, as long as they

can bear the heat. Meanwhile an old man throws twelve pipes full of tobacco upon the hot stones, which occasions a smoke almost powerful enough to suffocate the persons thus confined, so that, upon their being taken out, they generally fall down in a swoon. During this feast a whole deer-skin, with the head and antlers remaining, is raised upon a pole, to which they seem to sing and pray. But they deny that they pay any adoration to the buck, declaring that God alone is worshipped through this medium.

At these feasts there are never less than four servants appointed, who have enough to do by day and night. Their pay consists in a fathom of wampum, and leave to take the best of the provision, such as sugar, eggs, butter, bilberries, &c. and to sell them to the guests and spectators for their own profit. All festivals are closed with a general drinking-bout.

Besides these solemn feasts of sacrifice they have many o less importance. When sacrifices are made for private parties, they invite guests who do not belong to the family, and who consume the whole dinner, the host and his family being mere spectators.

An Indian will, occasionally, when hunting quite alone in the woods, offer a sacrifice to ensure success. If an Indian hunter hears an owl screech in the night, he immediately throws some tobacco into the fire, muttering a few words, and then promises himself success for the next day.

If they think, that the souls of the dead are enraged, they offer both meat and drink offerings to pacify them. Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land, travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, and offers a drink offering upon its grave.

In great danger,* an Indian has been observed to lie prostrate on his face, and throwing a handful of tobacco into the fire, to call aloud, as in an agony of distress,

* Carver relates, that an Indian chief, who accompanied him on his journey to the falls of St. Anthony, which are taken to be the habitation of the great Spirit, offered his pipe, tobacco-pouch, bracelets, and earrings, and prayed with great emotion to the spirit to protect him.

"There, take and smoke, be pacified, and don't hurt me." This has been construed into a worship of the devil. But the missionaries have not been able to discover any such worship. The Indians abhor the devil, thinking that he is always intent upon doing them some mischief, by means of the white people, and under such apprehensions, an Indian perhaps might endeavour to pacify him and prevent the consequences of his malice.

Dreams are thought to be of great importance among the Indians, and nothing less than revelations from God. But as the Bible itself and the experience of the missionaries leave it without a doubt that Satan worketh in the children of disobedience (Ephes. ii. 2.), he may certainly influence the dreams of the unbelieving Indians, and some of them seem to bear evident marks of the interference of this evil spirit.

Among the Indians there are many deceivers, who know how to turn their great tendency to superstition to their own advantage. Some of them pretend, that they can easily bring rain down from heaven. Others are called by the Indians night-walkers. These people sneak into the houses in the night, and steal what they can get. The poor Indians will not allow these men to be common house-breakers, but say that they bewitch the family into a profound sleep so as not to be discovered.

The most dangerous deceivers among the Indians are the *sorcerers*. Some are mere boasters, who pretend to great skill and power, with a view to frighten the people, or to get a name, and such there is no reason to fear: but there are among the different tribes wretches enough, whom the devil makes use of as his agents, to commit murder. These enemies of mankind are seldom known. They are certain that their lives are in danger, as soon as they are discovered to be sorcerers; they are therefore very cautious in letting any one observe their destructive art, and avoid drunkenness lest they should betray themselves.

Both these and the other deceivers, when they grow old, wish to instruct others in their arts. They generally choose boys of twelve or fourteen years old for their scholars, whom

they deceive by means of apparitions in which they are the actors. The most extraordinary stories are told by these boys, of the spectres they have seen in the woods, when they were alone and full of apprehension. To one of these an old man appears in a grey beard, and says in a soothing tone, "Do not fear; *I am a rock*, and thou shalt call me by this name. I am the Lord of the whole earth, and of every living creature dwelling therein, of all the fowls of the air, and of the wind and weather. No one dare oppose me, and I will give thee the same power. No one shall do thee harm, and thou needest not to fear any man, if thou wilt obey me." Then the apparition begins his instructions, commonly in terms so ambiguous and figurative, that their true sense can hardly be found. But having received this message in so solemn a manner, the boy's mind ruminates upon it day and night, and as he grows up, he is confirmed in the opinion, that a peculiar power has been imparted to him, to perform remarkable exploits. As he can receive no further instruction from any one, he must study the theory and practice of his art by himself: though he perceives that he has been grossly imposed upon, yet he is ashamed to own it, and wishing to preserve the character of an extraordinary person, he continues in his diabolical practices till he grows old, and then in his turn endeavours to deceive young boys, by the same artifices which were practised upon him in his youth.

The Indians pay great attention to their *dress* and *ornaments*, in which they display much singularity, but little taste.

Their dress is light, and they consider much clothing as a burthen. The men wear a blanket hung loose over both shoulders, or only over the left, that the right arm may be free, and tie or pin the upper ends together. The rich wear a piece of blue, red or black cloth about two yards long round their waists. The poor Indians cover themselves with nothing but a bear's skin, and even the rich do the same in cold weather, or put on a pellise of beaver, or other fur, with the hair turned inward. Some wear hats or caps bought of Europeans, others go bare-headed. The

men never suffer their hair to grow long, and some even pull so much of it out by the roots, that a little only remains upon the crown of the head, forming a round crest, of about two inches in diameter. This is divided into two tails, plaited, or tied with ribband, and hanging down, one to the right and the other to the left. The crown is frequently ornamented with a plume of feathers placed either upright or aslant. Some wear a bandage round their heads.

They bestow much time and labour in decorating their faces; laying on fresh paint every day, especially if they go out to dance. They suppose that it is very proper for brave men to paint, and always study a change of fashion. Vermilion is their favourite colour, with which they frequently paint their whole head. Here and there black streaks are introduced, or they paint one half of their face and head black and the other red. When they wish to show a peaceful disposition towards other tribes or nations, they paint themselves and their belts blue.

The most singular part of their ornaments is displayed in figures made by scarification, representing serpents, birds, and other creatures. The operation is performed with a needle, gunpowder being rubbed into the punctures.—Sometimes by these decorations they acquire a particular appellation, by which their pride is exceedingly gratified. Thus a captain of the Iroquois, whose breast was all over covered with black scarifications, was called the Black Prince. A warrior never dresses with more care and stateliness, than when he goes to attend a council, or to meet the enemies of his country in the field.

They frequently appear in a white shirt with a red collar, put over the rest of their clothes. The girdles worn by the common Indians, are made of leather, or the inner bark of a tree. Their stockings, which reach a good way above the knee, supply the place of breeches. They are made of blue and red cloth without feet. Their shoes are of deer-skin, without heels, some being very neatly made by the women.

It is common for them ro rub their bodies with the fat of bears or other animals, which is sometimes coloured, with

a view to make their limbs supple, and to guard against the sting of the musquitoes and other insects. This operation prevents too great perspiration, but it increases their natural dark colour.

A tobacco-pouch is a most essential piece of an Indian's furniture. It contains his pipe and tobacco, pocket-knife, and tinder-box, which he always wears with a small axe and long knife in his girdle. Most pouches are made of the whole skin of a young otter, beaver, or fox, with an opening at the neck. The dress which peculiarly distinguishes the women, is a petticoat, made of a piece of cloth about two yards long, fastened tight round the hips, and hanging down a little below the knees: in other respects they dress like the men.

The women suffer their hair to grow without restraint, and thus it frequently reaches below their hips. Some wear it plaited, others have it folded and tied with ribbands. Nothing is thought more ignominious in women, than to have it cut off, which is occasionally done as a punishment. They never paint their faces with a variety of figures, but rather make a round red spot upon each check, and redden their eyelids, the tops of their foreheads, and some the rim of their ears and temples. Both sexes decorate their garments with beads of wampum, porcupine quills, dyed of various colours, feathers, fringes, pieces of copper, coarse pearls, &c. and often paint various fanciful figures on the inside of their mantles.

For their *dwellings*, the Indians generally choose a situation well supplied with wood and water, and for their plantations of Indian corn, a low and rich soil.

An Indian hut is made by driving poles into the ground, and strengthening them by cross-beams. This frame-work is covered both within and without with pieces of bark, fastened very tight with bast or twigs of hickory, which are remarkably tough. The roof runs up to a ridge, and is covered in the same manner. These huts have one opening in the roof to let out the smoke, and one in the side for an entrance. The door is made of a large piece of bark without either bolt or lock; a stick, leaning against the

outside, being a sign that nobody is at home. The light enters by small openings, furnished with sliding shutters. A number of these huts standing together is called an Indian town; and if surrounded by palisadoes, a fortification. The fire-place is in the middle of the hut; around which are placed benches or seats, which serve likewise for tables and bedsteads. The same blanket that clothes them by day, serves for a covering at night, and the bed is a deer or bear-skin, or a mat made of rushes. Some even line the inside of their houses or huts with these mats, by way of ornament, or to keep out the cold. They hang their stock of provisions and other necessaries upon poles, fixed across the top of the hut.

Since the Europeans came into the country, the Indians are provided with flint and steel, European knives and hatchets, and light brass kettles.* Cleanliness is not common among them. Their pots, dishes, and spoons, are seldom washed, but left for the dogs to lick.

The Indians keep a constant fire burning in their houses, which consumes much wood. There is pitcoal enough in the country, but they do not value it, having abundance of wood. Formerly when they had no axes but those made of stone, they used to kindle a fire around large trees, and burn them until they fell; then by applying fire to different parts of the stem and branches, they divided them into smaller pieces for use.

The Delawares and Iroquois *marry* early in life, but never near relations. According to their own account, the Indian nations were divided into tribes, for no other purpose, than that no one might ever, either through temptation or mistake, marry a near relation, which at present is scarcely possible, for whoever intends to marry must take a person of a different tribe.

An Indian first sends a present of blankets, cloth, linen, and perhaps a few belts of wampum, to the nearest relations of the person he has fixed upon. If they happen to

* Their pots were formerly made of clay, mixed with pounded seashells, and burnt so hard, that they were black throughout. Their knives were formed of long thin pieces of flint.

be pleased, both with the present and the character and conduct of the suitor, they propose the matter to the girl, who generally decides according to the wish of her parents and relations, and is afterwards led to the dwelling of the bridegroom without further ceremony. But if the other party chooses to decline the proposal, they return the present, by way of a friendly negative.

By marriage, the husband acquires an authority over the wife, whereby he punishes her adultery, when committed without his permission, either by cutting off her hair, biting off her nose, or even by putting her to death. Yet there is nothing more common, than a husband lending his wife to a friend or guest. No very strong tie exists between the married people in general. The most trifling occurrence, or one bad word, furnishes ground for a divorce. It is a common saying among them, "My wife is not my friend," that is, she is not related to me, and I need not care for her.

Polygamy is permitted among them, but a Delaware or Iroquois Indian has seldom two wives, and rarely more, for their love of ease renders domestic peace a most valuable treasure. The negroes* and Indians intermarry without any scruple.

The Indians affect an appearance of great coolness towards their nearest relations. When the children and other kindred go to meet the father of the family, after a long absence, he passes by them with a haughty air, never returns their salutation, nor asks how his children do; for circumstances relating to his own family and kinsmen, seem indifferent to him in time of war. This cool behaviour is generally thought a mark of a noble mind, but it would be a great mistake to infer, that they are divested of the feelings of nature.

The housekeeping of the married people is very different in a Delaware and an Iroquois family. The Delaware Indian hunts and fishes, provides meat for the household, keeps his wife and children in clothing, builds and repairs

* There are several negroes among the Indians, who have either escaped from their masters, or been taken prisoners in war.

the house or hut, and makes fences round the plantations. The wife cooks the victuals, fetches fire-wood, and labours in the field and garden, though, as to the latter, the husband will assist occasionally, which shews that the Delaware women live as well as the situation of an Indian will permit. But they are not so well treated among the Iroquois, who consider every occupation but that of a hunter or warrior in a despicable point of view; therefore the wife must not only do all the work in the house and in the field, but make fences, keep the house in repair, carry the bundles when travelling, and sometimes even her husband's gun.

The Indian women are in general of a very strong bodily constitution, and seldom want any assistance in child-bearing. They have no midwives, but there are clever and experienced women among them, who give both assistance and advice in time of labour. After the birth, the infant is immediately laid upon a board covered with moss, and wrapped up in a skin or piece of cloth. Most mothers suckle their infants till they are two or three years old. They have seldom more than six children. Their love to them is very great, and the favour of the parents is gained by nothing so easily as by caressing or giving presents to their little children. The mothers generally carry them in a blanket fastened upon their backs. The ancient pernicious custom of setting the infant upright upon a board, to which its feet were fastened with thongs, and of carrying the board with a strap upon their backs, is almost entirely abolished.

The children are always considered as the property of the wife. If a divorce takes place, they all follow her. Those indeed that are grown up, may stay with the father, if they please. Both parties are very desirous of gaining the love of their children, and this accounts for their conduct towards them. They never oppose their inclinations, that they may not lose their affection. The father generally gives the child a name, in its sixth or seventh year, and pretends that it has been suggested to him in a dream. This is done at a sacrifice, in a song, and they call it

"praying over the child." The same ceremony is performed, when an adult person receives a name of honour in addition to the former. But if it is left to the mother to give a name, she uses little ceremony, and calls it after some peculiar mark or character in it, for instance, *the Beautiful*, or *the Great Eye*.

As the girls grow up, the mothers endeavour to instruct them in all kinds of work. But the boys exercise themselves very early with bows and arrows, and in shooting at a mark. In a short time they acquire a remarkable dexterity in shooting birds, squirrels, and small game. When the boy arrives at a proper age, he receives a fowling-piece or rifle-barrelled gun. The first deer he shoots, proves the occasion of a great solemnity. If it happens to be a buck, it is given whole to some old man, who makes a feast of it for all the old men of the town. During this repast, they give good counsel to the boy (who is merely a spectator), regarding the chase and all the circumstances of his future life, exhorting him above all things to revere old age and grey hairs, and to be obedient to their words. They then join in prayer to God, to grant him long life and happiness. If he first happens to kill a doe, he gives it to some old woman, who treats the old women in the same way.

Sometimes young boys are prepared in the most singular manner for the station they are intended to fill in future. They are made to fast so often and so long, that their bodies become emaciated, and their minds deranged. When they have a dream, declared to be ominous, the subject is minutely considered, and they are solemnly informed what will be their future destination. The impression thus made upon their minds is lasting, and the older they grow the more earnestly they strive to fulfil their destination, considering themselves as men of peculiar gifts, far exceeding all others.

By the instructions and example of their parents, the young people are taught from their infancy to suppress their passions, and this is done in so effectual a manner, that the proofs they exhibit of their command of temper are truly astonishing.

When the parents see their children provided for, or able

to provide for themselves, they no longer care for their support, nor do they even think of saving a good inheritance for them. For every Indian knows, that whatever he leaves at his death, is divided among his friends. If a woman becomes a widow, the relations of the deceased take every thing belonging to him, and give it to their friends, without keeping a single article. Thus the children have no more claim upon any inheritance, than the widow and other near relations. But if a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other part of his furniture to a particular friend, the legatee is immediately put in possession, and no one disputes his right. Whatever the husband has given to his wife during his lifetime, remains her property.

According to the ancient rule, a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband; for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time, and then his soul goes to the mansions of departed spirits. She must however endeavour to live by her own industry, and commonly suffers great want, especially if she has young children. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is past, the friends of her deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband, or at least tell her, that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. The same rule is observed, with respect to a widower, by the friends of his deceased wife; for they still consider him as belonging to their family.

The common *food* of the Indians consists of meat, fish, Indian corn (Zea Mays), and garden fruit. They eat almost all animals they take by hunting, but deer and bears are their favourite food.* The sugar which they manu-

* In the spring of the year 1756, two seals (phoca vitulina) came up the river Susquehannah to Wajomick, about 400 miles from the sea, and were shot by some Indians. They were greatly astonished at the sight of these unknown animals. At length a council was summoned, to consider whether it would be proper to eat them or not; when an old Indian rose and observed, that as God had sent them, they could not but be good to eat. They approved of his opinion, made a feast, and found the flesh a very palatable dish.

facture in large quantities from the maple (Acer sacharinum), is used by them either to sweeten their victuals, or in the place of bread.

Their drink is nothing but the broth of the meat they have boiled, or spring water. But they likewise prepare a kind of liquor of dried bilberries, sugar and water, the taste of which is very agreeable to them. The wild Indians have a most insatiable inclination for spirituous liquors, and use them to excess. Rum and whisky, with which, the Europeans have made them acquainted, destroy more lives than all their wars.

Hunting is the principal and most necessary employment of the Indians, and next to war, the most honourable. For this reason, all Indians are very expert and experienced huntsmen. The boys learn to climb trees when very young, both to catch birds and to exercise their sight, which by this method is rendered so quick, that in hunting they see objects at an amazing distance. In detecting and pursuing game, they almost exceed the best-trained dog, in following its course with certainty. They run so swift, that if a deer does not fall upon the first shot, they throw off their blanket, and seldom fail to overtake him.

Before an Indian sets out for a long hunt, he usually shoots one or more deer, and keeps a feast of sacrifice, inviting the old men to assist him in praying for success. Some bathe and paint before they set off, but the most superstitious keep a fast both before and during the season. Besides this ceremony, most hunters endeavour to procure a hunting *beson*, to which they ascribe the power of procuring them success. The *beson* is a preparation made by old men, who are no more able to hunt, consisting of roots, herbs, and certain seeds, sold by them at a high price.

The Indians prefer hunting deer in large companies. Having surrounded a considerable tract of country, they set the dry leaves and grass on fire. The poor animals fly towards the middle to escape the flames, and the hunters closing in upon them, by following the fire, kill them with certainty, so that hardly one escapes. As the principal

object in shooting them is their skin, the flesh is left in the forest, and devoured by bears and other wild beasts and carnivorous birds.

No Indian will shoot a bear during the season for hunting deer, but when this is over, they immediately prepare for the bear-hunt. They are remarkably expert in finding out the haunts of these animals. If the bear will not leave his retreat in a hollow tree, they cut it down, and commonly kill him with the first shot.

In hunting beaver, the Indians prepare a sweet-smelling oil, by which they decoy them into their traps. Though the skin is the most valuable part, yet the Indians frequently make a meal of their flesh, especially of their fishy tail. Some Indians will never suffer the dogs to gnaw beaver bones, lest the spirits of the beavers might be enraged, and spoil the chase in future.

Fishing is the most favourite employment of the Indians, next to hunting. Little boys are even frequently seen wading in shallow brooks, shooting small fishes with their bows and arrows. The Indians always carry hooks and small harpoons with them, whenever they are on a hunting party; but at certain seasons of the year they go out purposely to fish, either alone or in parties.

When the *shad-fish* (clupea alosa) come up the rivers, they run a dam of stones across the stream, where its depth will admit of it, not in a straight line, but in two parts, verging towards each other in an angle. An opening is left in the middle for the water to run off. At this opening they place a large box, the bottom of which is full of holes; they then make a rope of the twigs of the wild vine, to which boughs about six feet in length are fastened. A party is detached with this rope, who stretch it across the current, and move gently down, supporting it in the middle by wooden forks. Thus they frighten the fish into the opening left in the middle of the dam, where a number of Indians are placed on each side, who, standing upon the two legs of the angle, drive the fish with poles, and an hideous noise, through the opening into the box. Here they lie, the water running off through the holes in the

bottom, and other Indians stationed on each side of the chest, take them out, and fill their canoes. By this contrivance they sometimes catch above a thousand shad and other fish in half a day. In Carolina the Indians frequently use fire in fishing; a certain kind of fish will even leap into the boats which have fire in them.

The Delawares have most intercourse with the European traders, and purchase from them whatever articles they want in exchange for furs. The most ruinous part of the Indian trade is that of rum. In trading among themselves, they make no scruple of cheating each other. The Indian trader demands an exorbitant price, well knowing that unless the buyer were in great distress, or fully intent upon purchasing the article, he would much rather deal with a European. Wampum supplies the place of money, being of as much value to them as gold, silver, and jewels are to the white people. The Cherokees carry on a pretty brisk trade with a kind of tobacco-pipe heads, of a black colour, light weight, and remarkably neat workmanship.

When the Indians are going on a journey, they pretend to be careless about the weather: yet in their prayers they frequently ask for a clear and pleasant sky. The food they take with them, is the flour of Indian corn, which they either eat dry, or mix with sugar and water. This makes a cooling and nourishing draught. They also boil it into a kind of soup. As to meat, they procure it in the forest. Formerly they carried fire with them, using a kind of fungus for this purpose. But now they are generally provided with a tinder-box. They are never in great haste when travelling, for they seem everywhere at home in the woods. They seldom forsake their sleeping-place very early, first eating a hearty meal, and examining their clothes, which often want mending. But when they have once started, they seldom stop, till after sun-set, when they seek a night's lodging in some convenient place. If it rains, they peel some trees, and in a very short time build a hut of bark, or rather a roof fixed upon four poles stuck into the ground, under which they may sleep dry. They travel through the woods for days together, without

any trace of a path, and yet never go astray. Difficulties never prevent them. They swim across the most rapid current with great strength and dexterity.

If they travel in company, they have all things in common. They usually appoint one to be their leader, and the young men hunt by the way. If they kill a deer, they bring it to the rendezvous, lay it down by the fire, and expect that the leader will distribute it among the whole party.

When the men are at home, they amuse themselves with diversions of various kinds, in which the women join them as their time will permit.

Dancing is their most favourite amusement. All solemn meetings are celebrated with a dance, nor does a night pass, in which there is not a dance in one family or other, to which the young people of both sexes resort with eagerness. The common dance is held either in a large house, or in an open field around a fire. In dancing they form a circle, and always have a leader, whom the whole company attend to. The men go before, and the women close the circle. The latter dance with great decency, as if engaged in the most serious business; they neither jump nor skip, but move one foot lightly forward, and then backward, yet so as to advance gradually, till they reach a certain spot, and then retire in the same manner. They keep their bodies straight, and their arms hanging down close to their sides. But the men shout, leap, and stamp with such violence that the ground trembles under their feet. Their extreme agility and lightness of foot is never displayed to more advantage than in dancing. Their whole music consists in a single drum. This is made of an old barrel or kettle, or the lower end of a hollow tree, covered with a thin deer-skin, and beat with one stick.

The dance of peace, called also the *calumet* or pipe-dance, because the *calumet* or pipe of peace is handed about during the dance, is the most pleasing to strangers, who attend as spectators. But the war-dance is dreadful to behold. No one takes share in it, except the warriors themselves. They appear armed as if going to battle; and

brandish their tomahawks with furious gesticulations. A Chief leads the dance, and sings the warlike deeds of himself or his ancestors. At the end of every celebrated feat of valour, he wields his tomahawk with all his might against a post fixed in the ground. He is then followed by the rest, each finishing his round by a blow against the post. Then they dance all together, and this is the most frightful scene. They affect the most horrible and dreadful gestures, threatening to beat, cut, and stab each other. They are however amazingly dextrous in avoiding the threatened danger. To complete the horror of the exhibition, they howl as if in actual fight, so that they appear as raving madmen. During the dance they sometimes sound a kind of fife, made of reed, which has a shrill and disagreeable note.

The chief game of the Iroquois and Delawares is *dice*, which indeed originated with them. The dice are made of oval and flattish plum-stones, painted black on one side, and yellow on the other. They put the dice into a dish, which is raised alternately by each gambler, and struck on the table with force enough to make the dice rise and change their position; when he who has the greater number of the winning colour counts five, and the first who does this eight times wins the game. The unsuccessful gamblers mutter their displeasure at the dice and the evil spirits who prevent their good fortune. Sometimes whole townships, and even whole tribes, play against each other.

The most common *diseases* among the Indians are the pleurisy, weakness and pains in the stomach and breast, consumption, rheumatism, diarrhœa, bloody flux, agues, and inflammatory fevers. Epilepsy and madness are not frequent. The small-pox was brought by the Europeans into the country, and is one of the principal causes of their dislike to them. For they detest and dread this disease more than any other, and are never more destitute of courage and prudence, than when it appears among them.

The Indians are in general bad nurses. As long as a man can eat, they will not own that he is ill; and never pronounce his case dangerous, until he has entirely lost his

appetite. Their general remedy for all disorders, small or great, is a sweat. For this purpose they have in every town an oven, situated at some distance from the dwellings, built either of stakes and boards covered with turf, or dug in the side of a hill, and heated with red-hot stones. Into this the patient creeps naked, and the heat soon throws him into such a profuse perspiration, that it falls from him in large drops. As soon as he finds himself too hot, he creeps out, and immediately plunges into the river, where he continues about half a minute, and retires again into the oven. Having performed this operation three times successively, he smokes his pipe with composure, and in many cases the cure is complete.

If the sweat does not answer in removing the disorder, other means are applied. Most Indians believe, that no medicine has any efficacy, unless administered by a professed physician, which many persons of both sexes pretend to be. They have learnt their art either by instructions received from others, or by experiments made with different herbs and plants. Old men, who can hunt no more, usually commence physicians, in order to procure a comfortable livelihood. Such a physician never applies his medicines without accompanying them with mysterious rites, to make their effect appear supernatural. He thinks this the more necessary, because his patient believes his illness to proceed from an invisible agent. He therefore prepares his roots and herbs with the most singular ceremonies, and in mixing them up invokes the aid of the Great Spirit, with whom he pretends to live in great intimacy. He also accompanies his directions and advice with various gesticulations and enigmatical expressions. He pretends to drive the bad spirit, who has brought on the disorder, into the desert, and there to bind him fast. For this reason he demands the strictest obedience to his prescriptions, and frequently assures his patient with great emphasis, that whoever despises him and his medicines must infallibly perish. They require an enormous fee.

In dangerous cases their treatment is remarkably bold and violent, as they suppose that a violent disorder requires

a violent cure. They are acquainted with various excellent remedies for inflammatory fevers, and are capable of foretelling whether their patient will survive or not, by the immediate effect of their prescriptions. One great fault of these physicians is, that they know not how to proportion the strength of their medicines to that of the patient's constitution. External injuries they treat pretty well, and especially are well skilled in healing bruises and wounds. They are perfect masters in the treatment of fractures and dislocations. The former occur less frequently than the latter. If an Indian has dislocated his foot or knee, when hunting alone, he creeps to the next tree, and tying one end of his strap to it, fastens the other to the dislocated limb, and, lying on his back, continues to pull till it is reduced.

The Indians are remarkably skilful in curing the bite of venomous serpents, and have found medicines peculiarly adapted to the bite of each species. For example: The leaf of the *rattlesnake-root* (polygala Senega) is the most efficacious remedy against the bite of this dreadful animal. It is very remarkable, that this herb acquires its greatest perfection just at the time when the bite of the rattlesnake is the most dangerous. The Indians are so well convinced of the certainty of this antidote, that many will suffer themselves to be bitten for a glass of brandy. The leaves are chewed, and immediately applied to the wound, and either some of the juice or a little fat or butter is swallowed at the same time. This occasions a parching thirst, but the patient must not be suffered to drink. A decoction of the buds or bark of the *white ash* (fraxinus Carolina) taken inwardly, is said to be a certain remedy against the effects of this poison. Salt has lately been found to be a powerful antidote; and if immediately applied to the wound, or dissolved in water, and used as a lotion, no danger is to be feared.

One of the most melancholy causes of painful disorders and sudden deaths among the Indians is the use of poison. The sorcerers are also supposed to occasion lingering disorders by witchcraft, and it is pretended that some can

kill a man in the space of 24 hours without poison, even at a distance of 4 or 500 miles. The Indians say that their poison and witchcraft has no effect upon the white people, because they eat so much salt with their victuals.

On the death of an Indian, the corpse is dressed in a new suit; with the face and shirt painted red, and laid upon a mat in the middle of the hut. The arms and effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. In the evening soon after sunset, and in the morning before day-break, the female relations and friends assemble around the corpse, and mourn over it. Though it is deemed a shame in men to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they cannot refrain from tears. The burying-places are at some distance from the dwellings. The grave is generally dug by old women, as the young people abhor this kind of work. It was usual formerly to place the corpse within it in a sitting position, with the head towards the east.

If the deceased was the Chief of a tribe or nation, a tall post, neatly carved but not painted, is erected over the grave. But if he was a Captain, the post is painted red, and his head and glorious deeds are pourtrayed upon it.

The Nantikoks have this singular custom, that about three, four, or more months after the funeral, they open the grave, take out the bones, clean and dry them, wrap them up in new linen, and inter them again. The Iroquois and Wyandots every eight or ten years, disinter their dead, and carry them to a place of general and final deposit, where they are again buried with much ceremony.

When an Indian of rank dies, embassies are frequently sent from very distant tribes, to condole with the relations. The ambassadors deliver their message with the most ceremonious solemnity, and wipe off the tears with presents. When a Chief is in mourning no complaint is brought before him, and no advice asked in any affair of state.

Most of the Indian nations which the missionaries have visited, inhabited formerly that part of the East coast of North America, which now belongs to the United States,

from which they have been driven by the European settlers. The Indians relate, that, before the arrival of the Europeans, some prophets pretended to have received a divine revelation, from which they foretold, that a people would come to them from a country beyond the great Ocean, and even pointed out the very day of their arrival. They further relate, that upon seeing a ship arrive on that day, they thus addressed their countrymen—"Behold, the Gods come to visit us." Upon their landing, the white people were adored by the Indians, to whom they made presents of knives, hatchets, guns, and other articles. But the Indians, not knowing their use, kept them carefully, wore them about their necks on solemn festival days, and even worshipped and offered sacrifice to them.

In the beginning it appeared as if the Europeans and Indians would live peaceably together. In the year 1781, there were still some very aged Indians living on the banks of the Muskingum, who were present when the first houses were built in Philadelphia. They related that the white people treated the Indians at that time with the greatest kindness, so that they appeared to be but one nation. But when the Europeans began to settle along the navigable rivers, and extended their agriculture and commerce over a great part of the country, the deer retired into the woodlands, and the Indians followed them. At last the Europeans began to attack the few natives who remained in their old towns and obliged them to retire.

The wars between the Delawares and Iroquois were violent and of more ancient standing. According to the account of the former, they were always too powerful for the Iroquois, who were at length convinced that if they continued the war, their total extirpation would be inevitable. They therefore induced the Delawares to enter into a singular treaty, by which the latter nation was declared to be a *woman*, that is, she was not to take up arms, nor were the other nations to make war upon her, and whenever she exhorted them to peace, they were to obey. Ever since this treaty the Iroquois have called the Delawares their cousins. The Iroquois, on the contrary, as-

sert that they conquered the Delawares, and that the latter were forced to adopt the defenceless state and appellation of a *woman*, to avoid total ruin.

Whether these different accounts be true or false, certain it is, that the Delaware nation has ever since been looked up to for the preservation of peace, and entrusted with the charge of the great chain of friendship, which they must take care to preserve inviolate. According to the figurative explanation of the Indians, the middle of this chain is placed upon the shoulder of the Delawares, the rest of the Indian nations holding one end, and the Europeans the other.

Such was the state of things in 1755, when a war broke out between the Indians and the white people. The Iroquois then solicited the assistance of the Delawares, and proposed, in a council held at Pittsburgh, to take their woman's dress away, and clothe them like men. But the Delares being unwilling to take an active part in the war, and well aware that the Iroquois only sought their ruin, one of their Chiefs (White Eyes), in the name of the rest, thus addressed them—"Why do you want to rob the woman of her dress? I tell you, that if you do it, you will find creatures in it ready to bite you. But if you have an inclination to fight, we will try our fortune, and see which of us shall obtain the victory." This bold challenge the Iroquois passed over in silence at that time, but were extremely enraged, and soon after fell upon them at the instigation of the English, and took many captives. The Delawares have not yet forgiven the Iroquois for this cruel treachery; and from the character of the Indians in general, it is not to be supposed that they ever will.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the numbers of the Indians were far greater than at present; for some of the nations are now reduced to a few hundreds, owing to intemperance, poison, the small pox, and war. Yet small as some nations are, each remains separate from the rest, without intermixing with their neighbours, from whom they endeavour to distinguish themselves as much as possible. Yet they willingly receive such nations as have been expelled by

others, as this increases their strength and influence, and are always sorry to lessen their numbers by emigration.

Chiefs are appointed in every Indian nation, who are in fact nothing more than the most respected among their equals in rank. Each Chief has his counsellors, who are either experienced warriors, or aged and respectable fathers of families. These constitute the council appointed to watch over the welfare of the tribe. Among the Delawares the Chief must always be a member of that tribe in which he presides, but he is not chosen by his own tribe, but by the Chiefs of the other two. If he is intelligent and skilful enough to gain the esteem and affection of the Captains and the people, the former support his authority, and assist him in every possible way. A Captain is the Chief's right-hand. He must undertake every thing committed to him, even at the hazard of his life; but if he is killed by the enemy, the whole nation joins in revenging his death.

But a Chief ought above all things to secure the good-will of his counsellors, for without their assistance he becomes a mere cipher. The rich are likewise considered as principal supporters of the Chiefs, as they can furnish them with wampum upon an emergency; and on extraordinary occasions, a voluntary contribution of wampum is made by the whole tribe or nation. The usual expences are defrayed from the treasury chest of the council, which is never suffered to be empty. Both this and the archives of the nation are under the care of the Chief.

A Chief is indeed empowered and obliged, with the advice of his counsellors, to keep good order amongst his tribe, and to decide in all quarrels and disputes; but he dare not venture to command, compel, or punish any one, as in that case he would immediately be forsaken by the whole tribe. Every word that looks like a command is rejected with contempt. The Chiefs are in general friendly, courteous, hospitable, affable men, kind to all, and their house is open to every Indian. Even strangers, who come on business, put up in the Chief's house, and are accommodated with the best it affords. The ambassadors of other nations always lodge with the Chief, but if the number is

too great, they are put in a separate house, and provided with every thing at the public expence.

The punishment of assaults, murders, and other atrocious crimes, is not committed to the Chiefs, but to the injured family, nor has he the power to grant a pardon.

When one Chief intends to pay a visit to another he sends him a piece of tobacco, with this message:—"Smoke of this tobacco, and look towards my dwelling, then thou shalt see me coming towards thee on such a day."

The principal duty of the first Chief of the Delawares is to maintain the peace and covenants made between them and other nations. If the Europeans or Indians send a disagreeable message, the Chief's answer has always a double meaning. It would be deemed very rude to require an explanation, and against the law of the state to give one. If he neglects his duty, his people forsake him, and his power is at an end.

The strings and belts of wampum and the great seal, which were in possession of the Chief by virtue of his office, are carefully preserved by the council after his death, until the appointment of a successor, which is, in general, some one well acquainted with the affairs of the state; the son of a Chief, except among the Chippewas, having no legal right to succeed his father.

Affairs of importance are always laid before the council, and without its consent no proposal can be put into execution. The council-house is either the house of the Chief, or a building erected for that purpose. The counsellors sit around a large fire, provided with pipes and tobacco. Provisions must always be plentiful in the council-house; for eating and deliberating take their turns. Above all, the strings and belts of wampum must be placed in due order, for whatever is said without being confirmed by them, is vain and without effect. The language of the speakers is highly figurative, and their behaviour perfectly consistent with the dignity of the assembly, and the importance of the subject; they are listened to without interruption, and with the most profound attention. When all have spoken, one of them is called upon to sum up the principal parts of the

different speeches in a concise manner. This is done extempore, and the necessary amendments proposed, every subject being carefully brought into as short and comprehensive a point of view as possible. No guests are admitted to any consultation, if the early promulgation of it might lead to doubtful consequences. Otherwise every one may be present as a hearer; but the women must stand without.

The political constitution of the Six Nations nearly resembles that of a republic. Each is independent of the other, or, as they express it, have their own fire, around which their Chiefs, Captains and Counsellors assemble, to take the particular concerns of their nation into deliberation. But they have a large common fire, burning at Onondago, to which the Great Council, consisting of all the Chiefs of the Iroquois, resort.

The Iroquois call most of the nations connected with them *cousins*, which implies a degree of subordination; the Hurons are called *brothers*. Those in league with the Delawares call that nation *grandfather*.

In the war between Great Britain and her Colonies, most of the Indians took part with the English. The consequence was, that in the year 1779, the Iroquois were entirely driven from their country by the troops of the Congress. Their towns were all destroyed, and they thus experienced a fate which probably had never before befallen them.*

The offensive weapons formerly in use were bows, arrows, and clubs. Their weapon of defence was a shield made of the tough hide of a buffaloe, on the concave side of which they received the arrows and darts of the enemy, but since the introduction of fire-arms among them, this is now entirely laid aside. They likewise make use of a hatchet and long knife. The warriors are under the command of the Captains in times of war, and do nothing without their consent.

* The ruins of former towns still shew the fury of their hereditary wars; and there are hollow mounds of earth, within which, it is said, the Indians concealed their women and children, on the approach of a foe, and defended them with the utmost vigour. The graves of those who fell in such contests are still visible, and their antiquity may be known by the large trees which grow upon them.

The rank of Captain is neither elective nor hereditary. The first occasion to this apppointment is generally a dream, early in life, which a young man or his friends interpret as a destiny for the office. He therefore endeavours to attain to the necessary qualifications for this dignity, and to prove his prowess by feats of valour. If a leader, who has not yet the rank of Captain, has the good fortune not to a lose man of his troop in six or seven engagements, and to bring prisoners and trophies of victory to the camp, he is declared a Captain without further ceremony.

A Chief cannot begin a war (which is called by the Indians *lifting up the hatchet*) without the consent of his Captains. He must endeavour to preserve peace to the utmost of his power. But if the Captains are unanimous in declaring war, he is obliged, as it were, to deliver the care of his people, for the present, into their hands, and to lay down his office.

Some Indians declare war by sending a red hatchet to the nation they intend to attack. But others despatch a small party of warriors, who seize the first man they meet belonging to that nation; after they have killed and scalped him, they cleave his head with a hatchet, which they leave in it, or lay a war-club, painted red, upon the body of the victim. This is a formal challenge. The Captains and others usually procure a *beson* to preserve themselves from stabs and shots.* —But the most necessary preparation for war, is to paint themselves red and black; for the most horrid appearance is then thought the greatest ornament. The night previous to the march of the army is spent in feasting, at which the Chiefs are present; either a hog, or a couple of dogs are killed. Dog's flesh, in particular, is said to inspire them with the true spirit of war. After the feast, the Captain and all his people begin the *war-dance*, which continues till day-break. No one has any precedence during the march,

* In the year 1774, the Shawanose carried their war-beson upon a pole, among the ranks, in the battle they fought with the white people: but the b son-bearer himself was shot, the whole Indian army routed, and the be-on became a prey to the conquerors.

not even the Captain. They divide their provisions in equal shares, though each man should only get one morsel of bread or meat.

The Indian warriors possess astonishing perseverance and patience, encounter incredible dangers, and live upon the most scanty fare. Before they make an attack, their chief concern is to reconnoitre every part of the enemy's country. During the day they act with the greatest caution, not even whispering to each other, but explaining their meaning by signs and looks, creeping about upon all fours to gain intelligence. When the night fixed for the attack sets in, they lie flat upon the ground in perfect silence, waiting the first signal given by the Captain, upon which they creep along till within gunshot of their enemy. Upon a second sign, they leap up, discharge their pieces, and then fall upon their enemies with hatchets and clubs. They kill, scalp, and take prisoners as many as they can find, and set fire to the houses. They then fly back with the utmost speed into the woods, to which they have already marked the nearest road, and take no rest till they think themselves in safety. To avoid being pursued, they disguise their foot-marks as much as possible, as they would be easily traced by Indians. But if, in spite of all their caution, they are closely pursued, they kill the prisoners, scalp them, and disperse in the woods, in order singly to escape with more ease. Even in open war, they think it more honourable to distress the enemy by stratagem than by combat.

When they have quenched their thirst for blood, they return into their native country. The wounded are treated with great tenderness, and the means applied seldom fail in restoring them. Those who are dangerously wounded are carried by the rest, and none left to perish, without the greatest necessity. They even carry off their dead, or at least their scalps, lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies, which makes it hard to determine how many have been killed in action.

The cruelty of victorious Indians is without bounds :— All the slain of their enemies are, if possible, *scalped.*

The Indians perform this operation in the following manner:—They place their foot on the neck of their victim, seizing the hair with the left hand, and twisting it very tight together, in order to separate the skin from the head. Then they cut it all round with a sharp knife, and tear it off. This operation is often performed in a minute, and under certain circumstances is fatal, but not always. The scalp is painted red, placed upon a red pole in token of victory, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation, and carefully preserved in memory of their courage and prowess, in avenging the cause of their country.

They like to carry off their prisoners alive, but bound, till they are no more in fear of their pursuers. The European prisoners are immediately shorn after the manner of the Indians, and their heads and faces painted red, so as hardly to be distinguished from the Indians themselves. If any dispute arises between two warriors about a prisoner, he is immediately killed, to put an end to it.

Prisoners are not ill treated until they approach the first town of the victors, who repeat the death-whoop, according to the number of scalps, trophies, or prisoners in their possession. Upon this signal, men, women, and children run out to meet them, placing themselves in two rows. The warriors step forward into the midst, with the scalp-poles and prisoners, and force the latter to dance for the amusement of the spectators. A house or post is then shewn them in the village, to which they are ordered to go. As soon as they set out, the people begin to strike at them with switches, clubs, hatchets, or their fists. If they gain the house or post, though ever so bruised and bloody, they are perfectly safe.

This ceremony is performed in every town, through which they must pass. When they at length arrive at the residence of the conquerors, many of the prisoners are received into the families, to supply the places of the slain, or of relations lately deceased, and are immediately considered as members of the nation. Without this custom, many Indian tribes would have been exterminated long ago. But their true character suffers a visible change by the

naturalization of foreigners. Female prisoners are generally given to men, and well treated: boys and girls are either received into families, as servants, or sold to the Europeans.

Those unhappy prisoners who are condemned to die, may sooner or later expect to suffer the most excruciating tortures, and a lingering death. The Indians flock to these executions from all parts, as to some great solemnity, with a view to gratify their cruel and revengeful disposition. The poor victim is fastened naked to a stake, placed at some distance from a large fire. His body is sometimes painted black, and his head ornamented with raven feathers. One plucks his nails out by the roots, another bites one of his fingers off, thrusting it into his tobacco-pipe, which he offers to the sufferer to smoke. Others crush his fingers and toes between stones, or scorch his skin with red-hot irons, or torches. Some with their knives cut pieces from his body, rubbing salt into the raw flesh. Then they desist, with a view to prolong his tortures, which frequently continue three or four days. Sometimes they compel him to dance round the stake, mangled and burnt as he is, tied by a short rope. Should he happen to cry or show any sign of pain, he is derided and despised by his tormentors; but if he remains unconcerned, his bravery is extolled. At length, being rendered insensible by excess of pain, an end is put to his torments by a stroke of the tomahawk, and the mangled body is thrown into the fire.

It has been frequently said that the savages devour their prisoners. It may indeed have been occasionally practised, and some converted Indians have of their own accord confessed to the missionaries that they had done it; but it is not general.

They never make peace till compelled by necessity. But as soon as terms of peace are proposed, the Captains lay down their office, and deliver the government of the state into the hands of the Chiefs; for a Captain has no more right to conclude a peace, than a Chief to begin war. If the Chief inclines to peace, he takes the hatchet out of the hands of the Captain, and desires him to sit down; that is,

to make a truce; but the latter is generally chosen to be the deputy at the ensuing treaty.

An embassy of peace, is never committed to one man only. Sometimes it consists of fifteen or twenty persons. But one of them is appointed to settle the preliminaries, make speeches, and deliver the strings and belts of wampum. When he receives his commission in council assembled, every article to be explained to the other party is dictated to him more than once, and he is called upon to repeat it over and over again, till he can pronounce it without hesitation.

Such an embassy carries the *calumet* or pipe of peace before them, and the respect shown to it is such, that an insult offered to the bearer is accounted a crime of the most heinous kind, which the Great Spirit will surely revenge. It has a head of red marble, three inches deep, and six or eight inches. But red being the colour of war, it is daubed over with white clay or chalk. The pipe is made of hard black wood, four feet long, and is adorned with ribbands and white coral by the women. Sometimes porcupine quills, with green, yellow, and white feathers are added.

The ambassadors begin their songs and dances upon their approach to the town of the opposite party. The meeting is opened by the head-Chief, who smokes for a short time out of the pipe of peace, after it has been devoutly turned towards the heavens and the earth. Afterwards the pipe is handed about among all the ambassadors and members of the council, when each smokes for a short time. This ceremony being performed, the speaker of the embassy opens his commission in the true pompous Indian style. All his oratory is displayed to convince the opposite party that it is their interest to establish a lasting peace. He begins by delivering a string or belt of wampum. He then propounds the main subjects of his discourse, in short sentences, confirming each of them by a string or belt. Having fulfilled every part of his commission, he adds, "Now I have done."

If the strings and belts are handed about in the assembly, and considered attentively, it is a proof that the message is

well received. The answer is then given with the same solemnity. The treaty being closed to the satisfaction of both parties, a hatchet painted red, or a war-club, is buried in the ground, in token of a cessation of all hostilities on each side. They make use of the following expression to signify the stability of the peace thus concluded: "Upon this hatchet we will plant a tree, which shall grow up and reach unto heaven." All the strings and belts exchanged on the occasion are carefully preserved by each party.

But if the message is not well received, the president pushes the tokens of confirmation away with his stick, and no one dare touch them, except the person who brought them, which is considered as a great reproach.

If two Indian nations enter into a treaty of alliance, a pipe of peace is exchanged between them, which is then called the pipe of the covenant. When the covenant is renewed, the principal ceremony is an exchange of the belts of friendship. The principal one is white, with two black streaks down the sides, and a black spot on each end. By these the two nations are denoted, and the white streak in the middle signifies, that the road between them is clear, and that every hindrance is removed, to make way for perfect harmony. These ceremonies are always attended with dancing, and as every belt is accompanied by a speech, they often continue many days. At the concluding speech, the Indians generally make use of this expression, that their friendship shall last as long as the sun and moon give light, as long as the stars shine in the firmament, and the rivers flow with water.

The account which has thus been given of the Indian nations, will tend to elucidate many passages in the following history; and enable the reader more fully to appreciate the peculiar difficulties which the missionaries encountered when they first introduced the Gospel among the native tribes of North America.

MISSION AMONG THE INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

As early as the year 1727, the Unity of the Brethren began to take the conversion of the Heathen into the most earnest consideration, believing themselves called by God to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to heathen nations, and especially to such whose instruction was not attended to by any other denomination.

The first missionaries from the Church of the Brethren were sent in the year 1732 to St. Thomas, an island in the West Indies, under Danish government. Others went in the year following to Greenland, and their labours were crowned by God with success. Not long after, the Brethren had an opportunity of introducing the Gospel to the Indians in North America. For the trustees of Georgia offered to Count Zinzendorf (then warden of the congregations of the Brethren) a tract of land, to be cultivated by them, which was accepted; the Brethren hoping thereby to become acquainted with the Creeks, Chikasaw, and Cherokee Indians. The first company set out from Herrnhut in November, 1734, conducted by the Brethren, John Toeltschig and Anthony Seyffart, attended with the best wishes and prayers of the whole congregation.

Count Zinzendorf gave them written instructions, in which he particularly recommended that they should submit themselves to the wise direction and guidance of God in all circumstances, seek to preserve liberty of conscience, avoid all religious disputes, and always keep in view that call, given unto them by God himself, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Heathen; and further, that they should endeavour as much as possible to earn their own bread.

The Rev. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg was commissioned to treat in London with the trustees of Georgia and General Oglethorpe, then governor of that province, concerning the voyage of these Brethren and their settlement in that country. The worthy General procured the money necessary for their equipment and other expences, and the trustees granted them houses in the town of Savannah, with a piece of ground, till they could clear and cultivate a district given them on the river Ogeeche, and form a settlement upon it. Mr. Spangenberg accompanied them thither, and this first colony arrived in Georgia in the spring of 1735; their number was afterwards increased by a larger company that followed in summer, conducted by David Nitschman. These Brethren settled in the town of Savannah, and God blessed their industry in such a manner, that, in a short time, they not only repaid the money advanced for them in London, but were also enabled to serve their poor neighbours. Their first attempt to bring the knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Indians, was the establishment of a school-house for children of the Creek nation living in their neighbourhood, about five miles above the town, on an island of the river Savannah, called Irene. Many Indians living here in one place, gave the Brethren an opportunity to preach the glad tidings, that unto them also was born a Saviour, who had redeemed them, and purchased for them freedom from sin and eternal salvation. Most of these Indians understood some English, heard the Brethren gladly, and frequently brought their chief, or king, Tomo Tschatschi, to hear *the great word.* They also made frequent visits to the Brethren at Savannah; and from the accounts of this colony in 1736, it appears that the Indians in general were well inclined towards the Brethren, and knew very well how to distinguish between them and other white people, who came either merely in pursuit of gain, or led a dissolute life. Several Brethren, living in the school-house and among the Indians, with whom they continually conversed, succeeded in their attempts to learn the language.

In 1737, the Rev. Peter Boehler was chosen and ordained minister of the colony in Georgia, and Br. John Toeltschig returned to Europe. Mr. Spangenberg went to Pennsylvania, where he received the first account of the Iroquois from Conrad Weisser, an interpreter to the government, who had been sent, in the winter of 1736, to endeavour to settle a dispute between them and the Indians of Virginia. On this journey of near 500 miles he suffered great hardships; and when almost exhausted, he happened to meet with two Iroquois, who bid him take courage, adding, that what a man suffered in his body cleansed his soul from sin. These words made an impression upon him: he prayed to God for strength, and was supported.

Mr. Spangenberg mentioned this in a letter to Herrnhut, and the Brethren immediately became desirous of finding an opportunity to instruct these blind, yet thinking heathen, in the only true way, by which man may be cleansed from sin.

Meanwhile the prosperity of the colony of the Brethren in Georgia received an unexpected check; for the neighbouring Spaniards, endeavouring to expel the English from Georgia, the latter called upon the Brethren to take up arms against them. This they refused, having declared, when in London, that they neither could nor would bear arms on any consideration. They repeated their declaration to the trustees in London, and received an exemption from any personal interference with the war. But the people being dissatisfied with them on this account, some of the Brethren left their flourishing plantations in 1738, and retired into Pennsylvania. Those that remained enjoyed peace for some time; but the war breaking out again, another application to take up arms was made to them in 1739, and not willing to repeat their complaints, all of them left the counry, and joined their brethren in Pennsylvania. Thus the mission among the Indians in Georgia, after so promising a beginning, was at once suspended.

The Brethren, however, wishing, if possible, to pre-

serve the small influence they had gained amongst the heathen, soon after accepted of an offer made to them by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, to assist him in his establishment in Georgia; and Br. John Hagen was sent thither in 1740. He first went to visit the Creek Indians, with whom the Brethren had lived, but found only the women at home. The men were all gone with General Oglethorpe to fight against the Spaniards; and their chief, Tomo Tschatschi, was dead. He then directed his attention more particularly to the Cherokees; but an account was received that the small-pox had raged amongst them, and in a short time destroyed a great part of the nation. The survivors were much dejected, believing this calamity to be a punishment for having suffered themselves to be seduced by the white people to drink brandy, and on that account they now abhorred all Europeans. Under these circumstances, Br. Hagen would have been neither welcome nor able to effect any thing amongst them. However, of the 160 Indians who had gone to war against the Spaniards, many were brought to Savannah in a dying state. These he visited, preached the Gospel to all who understood English, and even endeavoured to learn their own language for that purpose; but their hearts and ears were shut against him, and he was obliged to desist, and return to Pennsylvania. At the same time the Europeans were terrified by a report that the Indians were determined to take away the life of one European for each Indian who had died of the small-pox; and they even made an attempt to put their murderous intentions into execution, by attacking one plantation.

Mr. Spangenberg had meanwhile visited Germany in 1739, where the account he gave to the Brethren at Herrnhut, of the deplorable state of the poor savages in North America, made such an impression upon them, that several resolved to venture their lives in endeavouring to make these heathen acquainted with their Creator and Redeemer. Twelve were nominated as candidates for this mission, and one of them, Christian Henry Rauch, was sent from Marienborn to New York, to seek an opportunity of preaching the Gospel to the Indians.

No extensive plan was aimed at; but the instructions given to such missionaries were to this effect:—"That they should silently observe, whether any of the heathen had been prepared by the grace of God to receive, and believe, the word of life. If even only one were to be found, then they should preach the Gospel to *him*, for God must give the heathen ears to hear the Gospel, and hearts to receive it, otherwise all their labour upon them would be in vain. They were to preach chiefly to such as had never heard the Gospel; not to build upon foundations laid by others, nor to disturb their work, but to seek the outcast and forsaken."

Br. Rauch arrived at New York, July 16, 1740, and unexpectedly met with the missionary Frederic Martin, from St. Thomas, by whom he was soon introduced to some pious people, who urged many objections against his plan of Christianizing the Indians. He heard them patiently, but did not suffer his confidence in God to be shaken in the least. Some days after, he heard that an embassy of Mahikander Indians had arrived at New York. He went in search of them, and rejoiced that he was able to speak with them in the Dutch language, which they understood, though imperfectly. These were the first heathen he had ever seen: ferocious in appearance and manners, and much intoxicated. Having waited till they were sober, he spoke with two of them, called Tschoop and Shabash, and without ceremony inquired whether they wished for a teacher, to instruct them in the way to salvation? Tschoop answered in the affirmative, adding, that he frequently felt disposed to know better things than he did, but knew not how, or where, to find them; therefore, if any one would come, and instruct him and his acquaintance, he should be thankful: Shabash also giving his assent, the missionary rejoiced to hear this declaration, considered it as a call from God, and promised immediately to accompany them on their return, and to visit them and their people; upon which they declared him to be their preacher, with true Indian solemnity.

He arrived in Shekomeko, August 16th, and was re-

ceived in the Indian manner with much kindness. He immediately addressed them on the subject of man's redemption, and they listened with great attention; but on the next day, when he began to speak with them, he perceived with sorrow that his words excited derision, and at last they openly laughed him to scorn. Not discouraged even by this behaviour, he was indefatigable in visiting the Indians daily in their huts, representing to them the total depravity of their hearts, and their blindness as to spiritual things, extolling the grace of God revealed in Christ Jesus, and the full atonement made by him, as the only way by which they might be saved from perdition. In the beginning it appeared, according to his own words, as if the devil had strongly fortified his kingdom amongst them, and shut out every good impression. The Iroquois were no better, though some of them, having been baptized by Romish priests, wore beads and crucifixes, which they considered merely as additions to their Indian finery.

On this occasion the missionary not only suffered in his mind, but had also to struggle with outward distress and famine. In travelling from one Indian town to another, he suffered excessive heat and fatigue in the woods, having neither the means to keep a horse nor money to hire a boat. Nor would any one receive him into his house; so that, according to his own expression, he was as one always seeking and never finding. But he soon forgot this and every other grievance, when he discovered that the word of the cross began to be the power of God unto salvation. Tschoop, the greatest drunkard amongst them, was the first whose heart was powerfully awakened through the grace of Jesus Christ. He asked the missionary what effects the blood of the Son of God, slain on the cross, could produce in the heart of man? Had the missionary received the most valuable present, it would not have afforded him a pleasure in the least degree equal to what he felt in hearing this question from a soul who sought salvation. His heart burned within him, whilst he testified to this poor heathen of the power of the blood of Jesus. Soon after this Shabash was also awakened, and

the labour of the Holy Spirit became remarkably evident in the hearts of these two savages. Their eyes overflowed with tears whenever Br. Rauch described to them the sufferings and death of our Redeemer. These proofs of the power and grace of God were soon made public. The neighbouring Christians in Shekomeko, and particularly the inhabitants of Reinbeck, were stirred up, and became eager to hear the Gospel. They desired the missionary to preach to them in a barn, and many received an abiding blessing. Thus he had the joy to see that his labour was not in vain in the Lord.

The change which took place in the heart and conduct of Tschoop was very striking; for he had been distinguished in all parties met for diversion as the most outrageous, and had even made himself a cripple by debauchery. Some time after, he related the occasion of his conversion in the following manner:—"Brethren, I have been an heathen, and have grown old amongst the heathen, therefore I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came and began to explain to us that there was a God. We answered, 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Go back to the place from whence thou camest.' Then again another preacher came and began to teach us, and to say, 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk,' &c. We answered, 'Thou fool, dost thou think that we don't know that? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people to whom thou belongest, to leave off these things. For who steal, or lie, or who are more drunken than thine own people?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time Brother Christian Henry Rauch came into my hut, and sat down by me. He spoke to me nearly as follows:—'I come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth; He sends to let you know, that he will make you happy, and deliver you from the misery in which you lie at present. To this end he became a man, gave his life a ransom for man, and shed his blood for him,' &c. &c. When he had finished his discourse he lay down upon a board, fatigued by the journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I then thought, What kind of man

is this? There he lies and sleeps. I might kill him, and throw him out into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern. However, I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when I was asleep, I dreamt of that blood which Christ shed for us. I found this to be something different from what I had ever heard, and I interpreted Christian Henry's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening took place amongst us. I say, therefore, Brethren, preach Christ our Saviour and his sufferings and death, if you would have your words to gain entrance amongst the heathen."

Though the powers of darkness were constantly at work, not only to keep the Indians in general under the slavery of sin, but particularly to seduce Tschoop and Shabash from the right way, yet the grace of Jesus prevailed, insomuch that in a short time a small company was collected, consisting of such who, convinced of their miserable state by nature, expressed a most earnest desire to be delivered from it. They attended the meetings diligently, and with so good an effect, that in many a very visible change was effected both in their lives and manners.

The missionary also took much pains with the Indians of all ages, to teach them more of the Dutch language, of which some understood a little. He even taught some to read, that they might be the better able to comprehend his words, and to interpret them to their countrymen.

In June, 1741, Br. Rauch paid his first visit to the Brethren in Pennsylvania. In the year 1740 they had bought a piece of land about ten miles south of Nazareth, on the Lecha, an arm of the river Delaware, where they built a settlement, called *Bethlehem*, which by their perseverance and industry increased considerably from time to time. Some time after, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield offered the manor of Nazareth, where he had erected a negro school, to the Brethren for sale. They accepted the offer, and it became by degrees a very pleasant settlement.

About the time of Christian Henry Rauch's visit in Bethlehem, in the summer of 1741, many Delaware In-

dians lived in the country, who were not well disposed towards the Brethren. The latter omitted no opportunity of shewing a kind disposition to serve them in various ways, and some made it their business to preach the Gospel to them; Br. Christian Froelich became acquainted with Jan, their captain, who at length conceived such an affection for Br. Froelich, that he offered to make him a present of his son, a boy of about eleven years old. He once invited him to a grand feast, and on its conclusion, with a full Indian chorus, the captain asked him how he liked it? Br. Froelich answered, "If you knew the Son of God, of whom I spoke to you yesterday, your joy and pleasure would be much more substantial." The captain immediately interpreted his words, and what he had told him of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, to which Froelich added some words by way of exhortation. They were astonished at an address so new, and a general silence ensuing, Br. Froelich continued: "You have just prayed and sung in your way, and now I beg you to allow me to pray and sing to Jesus, the Son of God: perhaps he may cause you to feel something in your hearts, though you do not understand my words." They gladly assented, and the hut was immediately swept clean. Froelich then kneeled down in the midst of them, and prayed to God our Saviour, that he would have mercy upon this poor blind people, for whom he had shed his precious blood. He was so much moved, that he accompanied his prayer with many tears; and several of the Indians could not help weeping with him. One of them even rose, and taking him by the hand, said, "Indeed I have felt something in my heart."

The missionary Chr. H. Rauch, having strengthened himself in faith and love during his abode with the Brethren at Bethlehem, returned to Shekomeko. Bishop David Nitschman went with him, the mission among the heathen being one of the principal objects of his attention in visiting America. He found great reason to rejoice at the blessing attending the preaching of the word of God, and upon his return made a very favourable report of what he had seen.

Martin Mack, one of the brethren from Georgia, and afterwards bishop and superintendent of the mission among the negroes in the Danish West India islands, was now appointed to assist in the mission, and in October 1741, the Brethren Buettner, Pyrlaeus, and William Zander, arrived from Europe for the same purpose. Br. Gottlob Buettner was sent to Shekomeko, to invite Br. Rauch to a synod of the Brethren to be held at Oly. He spent ten days with him, rejoicing with amazement at so glorious a work of God begun amongst these wild heathen; and Jan. 14, 1742, he preached for the first time to thirty-two Indians upon the words, "He hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son."

The Indians hearing that these two Brethren intended to set out for Pennsylvania, Shabash, Seim, and Kiop obtained leave to accompany them; but Tschoop,* being

* The following letter Tschoop dictated to the Brethren in Pennsylvania:—"I have been a poor wild heathen, and for forty years as ignorant as a dog. I was the greatest drunkard, and the most willing slave of the devil; and as I knew nothing of our Saviour, I served vain idols, which I now wish to see destroyed with fire. Of this I have repented with many tears. When I heard that Jesus was also the Saviour of the heathen, and that I ought to give him my heart, I felt a drawing within me towards him; but my nearest relations, my wife and children, were my enemies, and my greatest enemy was my wife's mother. She told me that I was worse than a dog, if I no more believed in her idol; but my eyes being opened, I understood that what she said was altogether folly, for I knew that she had received her idol from her grand-mother. It is made of leather, and decorated with wampum, and she being the oldest person in the house, made us worship it, which we have done, till our teacher came and told us of the Lamb of God who shed his blood, and died for us ignorant people. I was astonished at this doctrine, and as often as I heard it preached, my heart grew warm. I even dreamt often, that our teacher stood before me, and preached to me. Now I feel and believe that our Saviour alone can help me by the power of his blood, and no other. I believe that he is *my* God and *my* Saviour, who died on the cross for *me* a sinner. I wish to be baptized, and frequently long for it most ardently. I am lame, and cannot travel in winter, but in April or May I will come to you. The enemy has frequently tried to make me unfaithful; but what I loved before, I consider more and more as dung. I am your poor wild Tschoop."

lame, could not undertake so long a journey at that time. They left Shekomeko, Jan. 22, and arrived at Oly, Feb. 9, by way of Philadelphia. Here they found Count Zinzendorf and many labourers and ministers of various denominations assembled together. The appearance of the three Indian visitors, whose hearts were filled with the grace of Jesus Christ and the love of God, made a deep impression upon all present. Soon after their arrival a party of Delaware Indians came to see them, to whom they immediately spoke of Jesus Christ, their God and Saviour. They likewise declared to the Brethren how much they wished for baptism. Having received the Gospel with a believing heart, been faithfully instructed in the doctrine of salvation, and earnestly desiring to obtain mercy and pardon in the blood of Jesus, the synod first declared them candidates for baptism, and then resolved without delay to administer that holy rite to them in the presence of the whole assembly. February 11, 1742, being the day appointed for this important transaction, was indeed a day never to be forgotten in the annals of this mission. The presence of God was sensibly felt during the morning prayer; but some ill-disposed people raised such disturbance that the whole company was on the point of dispersing. However, peace and quietness being happily restored, there was a solemn meeting in the afternoon, in which Br. Christian Henry Rauch, and his assistant Br. Gottlob Buettner, were ordained deacons by the two bishops, David Nitschman and Count Zinzendorf. After this act, preparations were made in a barn belonging to Mr. Van Dirk (there being no church in Oly) for the baptism of the Indians. The whole assembly being met, the three catechumens were placed in the midst, and with fervent prayer and supplication devoted to the Lord Jesus Christ, as his eternal property: upon which Br. Rauch, with great emotion of heart, baptized these three firstlings of the North American Indians into the death of Jesus, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, calling Shabash, Abraham; Seim, Isaac; and Kiop, Jacob.

The powerful sensation of the grace of God, which pre-

vailed during this sacred transaction, filled all present with awe and joy, and the effect produced in the baptized Indians astonished every one. Their hearts were filled with such rapture, that they could not keep silence, but made known to all the white people who came into their hut, what great favour had been bestowed upon them. They preached a whole night to a party of Delaware Indians, who were in the neighbourhood. When one ceased, the other began, and their animated testimony of Jesus filled their hearers with admiration. Soon after this, they set out with Br. Rauch, and having spent some days at Bethlehem, they proceeded on their journey, full of spirit and life.

On the 16th of April, at Shekomeko, Br. Rauch had the comfort to administer baptism to his dearly beloved Tschoop, whom he called John. This man, who formerly looked more like a wild bear than a human creature, was now transformed into a lamb, and whoever beheld him, was amazed at so evident a proof of the powerful efficacy of the word and sacrament of the Lord. The visible and remarkable change effected in the minds and conduct of the four new baptized converts, raised the astonishment of all the savages far and near. The fire of the Gospel began now to spread, and kindle in the hearts of many heathen: nothing could be more enlivening than to see them coming from different places, from 25 to 30 miles distant, to Shekomeko, to hear the new preacher, who spoke, according to their expression, of a God who became a man, and had loved the Indians so much, that he gave up his life, to rescue them from the devil and the service of sin. The bold and undaunted testimony delivered by the missionary, of the atonement made by Jesus Christ our Saviour, confirmed by the words and deportment of the newly-baptized, penetrated into the hearts of the savages, and it appeared as if the Lord would gain a rich harvest in those parts, as a reward for the travail of his soul.

In 1742, the missionaries, Frederic Martin, Gottlieb Israel, and George Weber, had arrived in Bethlehem, from St. Thomas, with one of their negro converts, and

there met Br. Rauch and the Indian John, from Shekomeko. Count Zinzendorf, who made the conversion of the heathen an object of his particular attention, rejoiced exceedingly to be able to converse with these men, formerly the most blind and savage of human beings, but now lovers of God our Saviour, and happy believers. Having conferred with the above-named missionaries concerning their labour, he set out from Bethlehem on the 24th of July, on a visit to the Indians, with his daughter Benigna, and eleven Brethren, some of whom spoke English and Dutch, and others a little of the Indian language. He had likewise an Indian guide and interpreter. After visiting several of their towns, and pointing out to the assembled Indians the way of salvation by Jesus Christ, he returned to Bethlehem. This journey tended to establish both a better acquaintance and firmer friendship with the Indians; and some years after, both the Indian guide he had employed, and almost all the inhabitants of Meniolagomekah, which was the most distant place he visited, turned with their whole hearts unto the Lord.

In August, the Count set out in company of Conrad Weisser to visit the people at Tulpehokin. On the 14th, he met with a numerous embassy of Sachems, or heads of the Six Nations, returning from Philadelphia. Though they were extremely wild, and had, on the same day, shot one of their own people, yet he would not omit so good an opportunity of preaching the Gospel, but desired Conrad Weisser to tell them, that he had a word from God to them and their nations, and that his intention was neither to buy land, nor to trade, but to point out to them the way to everlasting life. Conrad Weisser added: "This is the man whom God hath sent both to the Indians and to the white people to make known his will unto them," confirming his words, after the Indian custom, by a present of a piece of red cloth. At first the Indians seemed not well disposed, and it was doubtful, what answer would be returned. But the wife of one of the ambassadors just then entering the hut, with a child in her arms; it immediately ran to the Count, and began to play with him. Upon

this the father immediately saluted Br. Zander, whom he had seen before; and this circumstance made so good an impression upon the rest, that they immediately held a council. After about half an hour's consultation, the ambassadors of the Onondago and Cajuga nations came to the Count, and addressed him as follows: "Brother, you have made a long voyage over the seas to preach to the white people and to the Indians. You did not know that we were here, and we knew nothing of you. This proceeds from above. Come therefore to us, both you and your brethren, we bid you welcome, and take this fathom of wampum in confirmation of the truth of our words." Thus a covenant was made between the Brethren and the Six Nations, which was at that time of great importance, for their influence being very great, they might have considerably obstructed the progress of the Gospel, had they been enemies.

The Count afterwards passed over the Blue Mountains to Menissing and Sopus, and arrived on the 27th of Aug. in Shekomeko, after passing through dreadful wildernesses, woods, and swamps, in which they suffered much hardship. Br. Rauch received them into his hut with inexpressible joy, and the day following lodged them in a cottage of bark. Count Zinzendorf afterwards declared this to have been the most agreeable dwelling he had ever inhabited. His heart was filled with the most pleasing hopes for futurity. His chief and indeed most agreeable employment was to converse with the four baptized Indians. In a letter written at that time, he mentions, that his joy over them increased every day. It happened that a clergyman passing through Shekomeko, called on the Count, and entered into a dispute with him concerning the person of the Son of God. The Indian John lay ill on the floor, and began to pray that Jesus Christ would reveal himself to the clergyman. When he was gone, John exclaimed, "O how will this man be once ashamed, when he learns to know the Lord Jesus!"

A Christian congregation was now established in Shekomeko, statutes and regulations were made and agreed upon,

and the four baptized Indians were appointed assistants, and blessed for their office with imposition of hands. The Count frequently declared, that they were true servants of God among their nation, to whose conversation he and his company had often attended with astonishment. On the same day the missionary Rauch administered holy baptism to six catechumens. This transaction was attended with particular grace and unction. Thus the first congregation of believing Indians established by the Brethren in North America consisted of ten persons. Their sincerity, faith, and love, afforded inexpressible joy to their teachers; and it was remarkable with what esteem they were treated, even by the wildest savages.

September the 4th, the Count took an affectionate leave of these worthy people, and, surrounded by a large number of Indians, sung a hymn of thanksgiving in the Dutch language; upon which he with his company set out for Bethlehem, accompanied by some unbaptized Indians, as guides. Two of them, having answered several questions put to them in presence of the whole congregation with cheerfulness and great emotion, were baptized by the Count and Gottlob Buettner, and called David and Joshua. This was the first baptism of Indians in Bethlehem.

Towards the end of September Count Zinzendorf set out upon a third journey to the Indians, then living on the banks of the Susquehannah, a large river flowing into Chesapeak Bay. As there were some towns upon this river, in which Indians of different nations lived together, he took with him Br. Martin Mack and his wife, who could speak the Mahikander language well, and the two Indians, Joshua and David, who understood Low Dutch. Conrad Weisser, a man well acquainted with the customs and manners of the Indians, was also willing to accompany him. After much fatigue they arrived, on the 28th, at Shomokin, a populous Indian town.

Here the Count met Shikellimus, one of the above-mentioned ambassadors of the Six Nations, for whom he had conceived a particular regard. The Indian kept hold of his hand, repeatedly expressing his pleasure at his arri-

val, and endeavouring to learn the aim of his coming from Conrad Weisser. The latter told him that the Count was a messenger of the living God, sent to preach grace and mercy; to which Shikellimus answered, that he was glad that such a messenger came to instruct their nation, and that he would certainly do every thing in his power to forward his design. And indeed he performed his promise, by serving the Brethren wherever he was able. One day the Brethren had assembled to pray the Litany; but the Indians having just then a feast, and making a great noise with drums, music, and singing, the Count sent word to Shikellimus, that the Brethren were going to call upon their God; upon which he immediately procured a general silence.

On the 30th the Count proceeded on his journey, and Shikellimus conducted the whole company on horseback through the Susquehannah, which was then fordable; they spent that night in the wood. The day following they reached Otstonwackin, which was then inhabited not only by Indians of different tribes, but also by Europeans, who had adopted the Indian manner of living. Among the latter was a French woman, Madame Montour, who had married an Indian warrior, but lost him in a war against the Catawbas. This woman kindly entertained the Count and his company for two days. From hence Br. Peter Boehler returned with Joshua and David to Bethlehem, and Conrad Weisser went to Tulpehokin, promising to return at a fixed time; but Martin Mack and his wife proceeded in the Count's company to Wajomick. This place was then inhabited by the Shawanose, a very depraved and cruel people, always at enmity with the Europeans, and invited thither by the Iroquois with a view to protect the silver mines, said to be in the neighbourhood, from the white people. The Brethren staid twenty days with them. The Shawanose thought, that they came either to trade or to buy land, and though the Count endeavoured to explain the true aim of his coming, yet some suspicion remained. However, he omitted no opportunity of speaking both with the chiefs and the people concerning the way to salvation,

and upon some his words appeared to make a great impression; but upon the whole their hearts seemed shut against the truth, and the principal chief betrayed a particular enmity on all occasions. Yet the abode of the Brethren in this place led to a better acquaintance with the Indians, and the more the Count saw their great blindness and depravity, the more fervently he offered up prayers in their behalf to God our Saviour, as the light to enlighten the Gentiles. Whenever he withdrew into his own tent for this purpose he only fastened the entrance with a pin, and not one of the savages ventured to enter. It appeared afterwards that they had conspired to murder him and his whole company. But God in mercy prevented it; for Conrad Weisser, being detained in some town beyond his appointed time, became so uneasy, that he hastened back to Wajomick, and arrived just in time to discover and prevent the execution of this murderous plot. The return of the Count was rendered very troublesome, and even dangerous, by the late season of the year, and the great floods; but by the mercy of God they all arrived safe in Bethlehem, November 9th.

Meanwhile Br. Gottlob Buettner and his wife had arrived at Shekomeko on the 1st of October, to the great joy of Br. Rauch. These two messengers of peace preached the Gospel either in English or Dutch and John, Jonathan, and other baptized Indians, interpreted and confirmed their words both in public and private with great energy. The missionaries likewise read the Bible to the baptized, with a view by degrees to make them well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures; the latter asking questions or desiring explanations, by which their growth in grace and knowledge was greatly promoted. The Indians also from the neighbouring towns made frequent visits to Shekomeko, and seemed never tired of hearing the word of God. Many savages, who formerly had lived like wild beasts, worshipping idols, bloody-minded, and eagerly pursuing all manner of vice and abomination, flocked now together to hear the Gospel of their Saviour, and his atonement; and some were so much moved, that they

ceased not to weep during the discourse; some fell upon their faces, and by other signs shewed how deeply the words had penetrated and humbled their hearts. When they returned home they told all their friends and neighbours what "great words" they had heard from the Brethren. Several brought even their children to the missionaries, begging them to care for and instruct them. Thomas and Esther * came and made them a present of their daughter, adding, that they could not educate her as they ought. She was afterwards called Martha in baptism, became a member of the congregation in Bethlehem, and was appointed schoolmistress at a settlement of the Brethren called Litiz.

More Indians having, upon their earnest request, been baptized, a weekly meeting for the baptized only was now instituted, in which they were addressed as persons who had received mercy; they sung and prayed together, and concluded with imparting to each other the kiss of peace. (2 Cor. xiii. 12.) This meeting was frequently distinguished by a most powerful sensation of the presence and peace of God, and the blessed influence it had upon their conduct astonished even the neighbouring Christians. The baptized were particularly exhorted to be diligent at their work, that they might pay their debts and eat their own bread. If any one of them acted not conformably to the rule of the Gospel, he was led with meekness to a confession and amendment of his error.

December 6th, 1742, a burying-ground was laid out for the use of the baptized, and the child Lazara was the first interred in it. A week after this, the missionaries had the joy to administer holy baptism to fifteen persons upon the same day.

Towards the close of the year, Br. Martin Mack and his wife arrived at Shekomeko, and Br. Rauch went on a visit to Bethlehem. Abraham said, "Formerly I used to think, that there was no man like Br. Rauch in the world, but now I am satisfied, if only his Brethren live with us." Br. Mack, immediately upon his arrival, conceived such a love for the Indians, that, according to his own expression,

* Two of the baptized Indians.

his heart was knit to them. He acknowledged, with gratitude to God, the grace bestowed upon his wife, towards whom the Indian women had great confidence, so that she even established societies or classes among them, in which they met to converse about the state of their souls, and the Lord laid a special blessing upon these meetings.

At the end of the year 1742, the number of baptized Indians in Shekomeko was thirty-one, most of whom were baptized in that place and a few in Bethlehem, where they frequently visited. They were all of the Mahikander tribe, for the Iroquois seemed more willing at that time to promote the Gospel among others, than to receive it themselves.

About this time the Brethren became more than ever convinced that great caution and circumspection would be requisite in their labours, for many tribes among the Indians bore an irreconcilable hatred towards the Europeans, and were much dreaded by them. For these reasons, a suspicion might easily arise in the minds of the Christian magistrates, as though the Brethren were secretly in league with the hostile Indians, their conduct towards them differing so much from that of other Europeans.

CHAPTER II.

Count Zinzendorf having done every thing in his power towards the conversion of the heathen in North America, and the furtherance of the Gospel among them, returned to Europe in the beginning of the year 1743. Previous to his departure he sent Br. Joseph Shaw to Shekomeko, as school-master of the Indian children. Not long after, the Brn. Pyrlaeus, Senseman, and their wives, went to serve the same mission, and also Frederic Post, who afterwards married a baptized Indian woman. The missionaries spent some time in visiting other places, especially Wechquatnach and Pachgatgoch, where the inhabitants freely told them that some white people in Freehold had offered them rum, if they would kill Br. Rauch. By this it was evident, that the enmity of many so called

Christians against the work of God among the heathen had not wholly subsided; but the missionaries were quiet, blessing them that cursed them, yet never suffering themselves to be disturbed in their important calling, and sacrificing every convenience of life to this blessed service. They earned their own bread, chiefly by working for the Indians, though the latter were not able to pay much for the produce of their labour. They lived and dressed in the Indian manner, so that in travelling to and fro they were taken for Indians. But whenever they could not subsist by the work of their own hands, they were provided with the necessaries of life, by the Brethren at Bethlehem.

In their calling and service they met with much opposition and many hard trials. The cunning and power of Satan and his emissaries seemed constantly employed against them, and frequently brought them into distress and danger. But God our Saviour mightily supported them, and imparted to them extraordinary courage and faith, to resist and destroy the machinations of the enemy. Strengthened by many undeniable proofs of the power and grace of God, they remained unshaken in their resolution to preach the Gospel with boldness, sensible of their own insufficiency, but in humble reliance upon the support of the Lord, to whom they made constant prayer and supplication, with full assurance of being heard. Br. Buettner was once going to visit some neighbouring heathen, and was suddenly seized with a vomiting of blood. He kneeled down, and prayed to the Lord, that he would strengthen him, having a great way to walk before night. His prayer was heard, and he performed his journey.

Most of those Indians, who visited at Shekomeko and were truly awakened, lived in Pachgatgoch, about twenty miles from Shekomeko, in Connecticut. They first addressed the magistrates, and begged for a Christian minister; but their petition being rejected, they sent to the Brethren, begging that a Brother would come, and preach to them "the sweet words of Jesus." Upon this the missionary Mack and his wife went thither on the 28th of January, and took up their abode with the captain of the

town, whose whole family was awakened. The savages received him with great joy, and observed, that he and his wife must love them very much, to travel so far to visit them, in this bad season of the year. Mack assured them it was so, and then informed them of the aim of his visit.

During his stay at Pachgatgoch, a man arrived there belonging to a sect called the New Lights, and preached to the savages full two hours, declaring that God was exceedingly wroth with them, and would send them all to Hell. The poor heathen, who were already convinced of, and alarmed at, their wretched and forlorn estate by nature, could find no comfort in this doctrine, but came to Br. Mack, to desire that he would preach to them; adding, that this white man held a doctrine different to that preached in Shekomeko, not speaking a word of the blood of Jesus. When Br. Mack began to speak of the happiness of those who believe in the Lord Jesus, and by him are delivered from the power of sin and its condemnation, there was a great emotion among the people, and they observed among themselves, how happy they should be, if the Lord would be as gracious to them, as he had been to their countrymen at Shekomeko.

From Pachgatgoch Br. Mack went on a visit to Potatik, about seventy miles further inland. He had been expressly invited by the captain of the place, who formerly was so violent an enemy to the Gospel, that he threatened to tomahawk or shoot any one who should dare to speak a word of Jesus Christ. The Indian received them in the kindest manner, and inquired, whether they came from Shekomeko, adding, that it appeared so to him by their countenances. Meanwhile a large number assembled, to whom Br. Mack made known the aim of his journey, desiring them to permit him and his wife to live with them in their huts for a few days. They behaved very friendly, being not able sufficiently to express their surprise, that merely on their account, he should have undertaken so long a journey through the woods. Messengers were immediately dispatched to call the Indians from the neigh-

bouring places, and all the towns-people assembled in the evening. They asked many questions, and were astonished at all they saw and heard, but more especially, that the missionary and his wife could venture to come and eat and sleep with them. Many of these Indians spoke Dutch and English, and the rest conversed with Br. Mack in their own language, his wife being the interpreter, having been brought up among the Mahikander Indians. The day following an English gentleman visited the missionary, and kindly offered him a lodging in his house, representing the danger of living constantly with the Indians. But Br. Mack answered, that having come hither merely on their account, he wished rather to stay with them. Some Indians overhearing this conversation, were greatly surprised, and told the rest, how much more the missionary loved them, than any one had done before; adding, that but few people of that description were in the world, and expressing their thankfulness to the missionary and his wife in the kindest terms. One of the Europeans listening to a conversation between Sr. Mack and the Indian women, asked an Indian who stood by, what he thought of her? His answer was: "She believes what she speaks; I never heard any one speak with such confidence, for her words proceed from her heart." Another time, the captain accidentally stepped into Br. Mack's hut, when some Europeans were there on a visit. He addressed them immediately: "You ought to be ashamed of yourselves to have been so long amongst us, and never to have told us any thing of what we hear from this man. He tells us what he has felt in his own heart, shows us the state of our hearts, and hits the mark exactly. But you chatter and read in books, and never do the things you preach to others. From him we learn how we may be saved." To this bold address they made no answer. Br. Mack also visited the English minister, who seemed well pleased with the labour of the Brethren among the Indians. When he mentioned his intention to return to Pachgatgoch, all the Indian inhabitants assembled, to take leave of their guests. He asked them, whether they would remember him in love,

but they could hardly make any reply for weeping. He then kneeled down and prayed for them, recommending them to the mercy of God. They wept much, and said: "We feel that we are great sinners, and now you go and leave us alone." Having spoken some words of consolation, he set out on his return to Pachgatgoch.

Here he was met by the missionary Buettner and the Indian Joshua; and soon after, six Indians belonging to this place were baptized. Great grace prevailed among the people, and, according to the account of the missionaries, it was evident that the Holy Ghost was poured out upon them at their baptism. They afterwards spent great part of the night in prayer, and in the day-time went about preaching Christ to their own countrymen. Among those, who were then baptized, was the captain Maweseman, named Gideon in baptism. The idea of the first love, spoken of in Rev. ii. 4. was here realized and eminently obvious in the declarations of the baptized Indians, concerning our Saviour and their experience of his grace, and in their behaviour towards each other. Gideon begged, that a missionary might come to reside in Pachgatgoch, and four deputies arrived from Potatik to ask the same favour. This occasioned Br. Mack to go thither a second time. He found them all very eager to hear the Gospel. Above twenty baptized Indians from Shekomeko went with him, and were his faithful fellow-labourers. John was remarkably animated, to the astonishment of all his countrymen. He had a peculiar gift to render the subject he was speaking upon, clear and perspicuous. Sometimes he made use of figures, after the Indian manner. For instance, in describing the wickedness of man's heart, he took a piece of board, and with charcoal drew the figure of a heart upon it, with stings and points proceeding in all directions: "This," said he, "is the state of a man's heart; while Satan dwells in it, every evil thing proceeds from it." With Indians, this simple figure tended more to illustrate his discourse, than the most elaborate explanation. Joshua and Gideon bore likewise very powerful testimonies of the doctrine of our Lord's atonement; for having an experi-

mental knowledge of it in their own hearts, they could not hold their peace.

During the time of Br. Mack's second visit in Potatik, Gideon remained in Pachgatgoch. Here he was one day attacked by a savage, who, presenting his gun at his head, exclaimed: "Now I will shoot you, for you speak of nothing but Jesus." Gideon answered: "If Jesus does not permit you, you cannot shoot me." The savage was so struck with this answer, that he dropped his gun, and went home in silence. During his absence, his wife had been taken extremely ill, and as Br. Mack just then returned to Pachgatgoch, the poor savage ran to meet him, begging that he would come and tell him and his wife something of God, though only two days had elapsed since he had resolved to shoot every one who should speak to him about conversion. Br. Mack went with him, and found a great number of Indians gathered together, to whom he and his Indian assistants, Joshua and Gideon, preached redemption in Christ Jesus with such power and unction, that the poor people were greatly affected.

It was a very moving sight, to see the good people of Pachgatgoch take leave of the missionary and his company. They all met together, and declared, that though he had been a fortnight with them, they were yet very hungry after his words, and then begged, that he would preach to them once more; upon which he spoke for some time of the power of the blood of Christ. When he had finished, Joshua rose and continued the discourse, and being hindered by his tears from proceeding, Samuel continued, and then Gideon confirmed it. The emotion among the hearers was such, that Br. Mack declared, he had never seen any thing equal to it.

The conference of Elders in Bethlehem, to whom the superintendency of this mission was committed, sent now and then a Brother to visit the missionaries in Shekomeko. Some Brethren went also from Bethlehem to preach in different Indian towns in the neighbouring countries, especially among the Delawares, though at that time they had positively declared that they would not hear any

thing of the God of the Christians. We must here observe, that during these journies, which were frequently attended with much fatigue and danger, they were much encouraged and comforted by a book in use among the Brethren, containing texts of Scripture for each day in the year, which proved at times very applicable to their circumstances. Two of these messengers of peace were on one day obliged both to pass through a forest on fire, and to cross a large brook which had overflowed its banks. The text for that day was, "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee: and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." Isa. xliii. 2. Though these visits were not productive of any immediate good, yet the kindness with which the Indians were treated by the Brethren left a strong impression upon their minds, and the fruits appeared in due season.

The Indian congregation in Shekomeko continued to increase in number and grace; and having been previously instructed in the doctrines contained in the Holy Scriptures relating to the Holy Communion, it was resolved, that on the 13th of March (1743) the firstlings of the Indian nations should be admitted to the participation of this sacred repast. The baptized first met to partake of a love-feast, according to the custom of the apostolic churches, during which the great grace bestowed upon them, and the future blessings to be imparted unto them by our Saviour, were spoken of. Afterwards the candidates for the Lord's Supper had the Pedilavium (John xiii. 14), and having been confirmed with imposition of hands, this solemn meeting was concluded with the kiss of peace. Then this small congregation of Indians enjoyed the Holy Communion, according to the institution of our Lord Jesus Christ in remembrance of his death. At this opportunity his divine presence was felt in such a manner, that the hearts of all present were filled with love and awe; all were melted into tears. The missionary writes:— "During the subsequent meeting for adoration and

thanksgiving, we were overcome with weeping; and whilst I live, I shall never lose the impression this first Communion with the Indians in North America made upon me."

In July the new chapel at Shekomeko was finished and consecrated, some of the elders of the congregation at Bethlehem being present. This building was thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with smooth bark. The daily meetings were now regulated in a better manner. The congregation usually met every forenoon to hear a discourse delivered upon some text of Scripture. Every evening a hymn was sung. A monthly prayer-day was likewise established, when accounts were read concerning the progress of the Gospel in different parts of the world, and prayer and supplication made unto God for all men, with thanksgiving. The prayer-days were peculiarly agreeable to the Indians; especially because they heard that they were remembered in prayer by so many children of God in other places. Both on these days, and on Sundays and festival days, Shekomeko seemed all alive, and it may be said with truth, that the believers showed forth the death of the Lord both early and late. One day above one hundred savages came thither on a visit, and one of the missionaries observed, that wherever two were standing and conversing together, our Lord Jesus, and his love to sinners, as the cause of his bitter sufferings, was the subject of conversation. The zeal of the baptized Indians in testifying of our Saviour was such, that they were thus employed even till after midnight.

The missionaries were also daily excited to thank and praise God for the manifold proofs of the work of his Spirit in the hearts of the Indian Brethren and Sisters. Even when any of them displeased the missionaries by improper conduct, the latter were often comforted by seeing their readiness to acknowledge their fault, and their desire to be led again into the right way. Jonathan spent several days in great uneasiness. He had had a dispute with some of his brethren, and though he was willing to

ask pardon of the Lord, yet he could not be satisfied, but whenever he prayed to him was always led in his heart to own his fault before his brethren. At last he did so, and this circumstance taught him to know himself still better. Another baptized Indian had suffered himself to be seduced to drunkenness by some wicked Indians. The whole congregation were grieved on this account; but the Brethren were desired in the public meeting not to treat their brother harshly, but rather to recommend him in prayer to the pardon and mercy of Jesus, as he most sincerely repented of his fault. After some days he was assured of the forgiveness of the congregation, and re-admitted to their fellowship. An old Indian, called Solomon, who was awakened, but could not submit to own himself so great a sinner as he really was, removed with his whole family from Shekomeko, promising to return, perhaps in three weeks. But that same evening he came back, and declared that he could not leave the place; upon which the Indians observed to one another, that "Solomon could not run away from our Saviour."

Shekomeko was now sufficiently supplied with missionaries; but that nothing might be neglected in Pachgatgoch, Br. Martin Mack and his wife removed thither, built an Indian hut of bark, and being surrounded on all sides with hills and rocks, frequently called to mind the favourite lines, sung by the ancient Bohemian Brethren:—

> "The rugged rocks, the dreary wilderness,
> Mountains and woods, are our appointed place.
> 'Midst storms and waves, on heathen shores unknown,
> We have our temple, and serve God alone."

Yet for the Lord's sake he and his wife were contented to live here in poverty, and gladly to suffer hardships. But the great awakening in Pachgatgoch soon raised the attention of the whole neighbourhood, especially of some white people, who did every thing in their power to seduce the Indians to forsake the Brethren. For having been accustomed to make the dissolute life of the Indians,

and chiefly their love of liquor, subservient to their advantage, they were exceedingly provoked when they saw that the Indians began to turn from their evil doings, and to avoid all those sinful practices which had been so profitable to the traders. They publicly branded the Brethren with the names of papists and traitors, and the missionaries Mack, Shaw, and Pyrlaeus (the two latter being on a visit in Pachgatgoch), were taken up as papists, and dragged up and down the country for three days, till the governor of Connecticut, hearing their case, honourably dismissed them. Yet their accusers insisted on their being bound over in a penalty of £100. to keep the laws of the country. Being not fully acquainted with all the special laws of the province, they perceived the trap laid for them, and thought it most prudent to retire to Shekomeko. Many of the believing Indians followed them, and the rest made repeated visits to the missionaries. However, Br. Mack's wife ventured, some months after, to go on a visit to the Indian women at Pachgatgoch. Here she heard, that the enemies continued to take much pains to entice the Indians to desist from going to Shekomeko. One of them endeavoured to represent it as great folly in them to fatigue themselves by so long a journey, when, if they would come to hear him preach, he would even give them money. Gideon answered, "We do not desire to hear your words for money: I and my friends seek the salvation of our souls, and on this account the road to Shekomeko never seems too long, for there we hear the enlivening words of the Gospel."

Meanwhile the missionary Rauch had visited the country about Albany, Shochary, and Canatshochary on the North River, and on the 23rd of August arrived at Freehold. Having made known the aim of his coming, the Indians held a council, and sent him word, that they had resolved to intreat him to dwell with them, and to instruct them in the knowledge of God; for that they had long wished to become like the people in Shekomeko. He immediately began to tell them of the love of God our Saviour to lost

sinners, and of the sufferings and death of Jesus. Some smiled, others were still, and seemed struck with wonder. But about three weeks after, some white people came and endeavoured to irritate the minds of the Indians against him. They even distributed rum amongst them, with a view that, in a drunken frolic, they might set their dogs at the missionary, or even kill him. Notwithstanding all this opposition, some of the most savage of these Indians were gained for the Lord. One of them publicly burnt his idols, and in a speech delivered to his countrymen on this occasion, lamented his former blindness and ignorance of the true God, exhorting them all to surrender their hearts to the Lord Jesus. Others, not conceiving how such a change could possibly be wrought in man, suspected Br. Rauch of sorcery, and that he could make people like himself, by some kind of magic spell.

Amidst all these endeavours to convert the Mahikander and Delaware nations, the Iroquois were not forgotten. But a thorough knowledge of the Maquaw or Mohawk language being required, to be able to preach the Gospel to them, Br. Pyrlaeus went to Tulpehokin, where he remained three months with Conrad Weisser to study this language, and afterwards moved with his wife into the interior part of the Iroquois country, and took up his abode with the English missionary in Juntarogu. This gentleman's mind had been already influenced against the Brethren, and therefore, from the beginning, he started many difficulties, and then told him without reserve, that he could not assist him in his endeavours without exposing himself to severe reproof; that as to himself, he was weary of his labour among the Indians, their language being so difficult, that after many years study he found himself unable to preach in it; that he therefore had only written a few sermons with the assistance of a friend, which he read to the Indians now and then, but without observing the least change i their conduct, for they would not even leave off drinking, and painting their faces. Pyrlaeus finding himself narrowly watched on all sides, and his presence not agreeable, removed to another place about thirty

miles off, where he found more opportunity of studying the language, though obliged to submit to great hardships. For example; he and his wife lived in a house, in which they slept for a whole fortnight upon the bare ground, without the least covering. They were likewise continually tormented by all kinds of vermin and troublesome insects. But their love to the Indians made them willingly bear all these inconveniences. Some time after, Pyrlaeus was invited to a conference in Shekomeko, and accompanied Br. Seyffart to Canatshochary, with a view to make further progress in the Mohawk language. Br. Senseman went from Shekomeko up the North River, where he visited Sohckants and Skathkak, and his words found entrance into the hearts of some. At the close of the year 1743, the congregation of baptized Indians in Shekomeko consisted of sixty-three persons, exclusive of those in Pachgatgoch, and a great number of constant hearers, some of whom were powerfully awakened.

CHAPTER III.

Hitherto the labour of the Brethren among the heathen had met with no opposition of any consequence, and in the first months of the year 1744, the church had rest and was edified. The diary of the missionaries contains many pleasing proofs of the blessed effects of the grace of Jesus Christ in the hearts of the believing Indians; for instance: —Jonathan meeting some white people, who had entered into so violent a dispute about baptism and the Holy Communion, that they at last proceeded to blows, "These people," said he, "know certainly nothing of our Saviour, for they speak of him as we do of a strange country."—A trader was endeavouring to persuade the Indian Brother Abraham, that the Brethren were not privileged teachers. He answered: "They may be what they will, but I know what they have told me, and what God has wrought within me. Look at my poor countrymen there, lying drunk before your door. Why do you not send privileged teachers, to convert them, if they can?

Four years ago I also lived like a beast, and not one of you troubled himself about me; but when the Brethren came, they preached the cross of Christ, and I have experienced the power of his blood, according to their doctrine, so that I am freed from the dominion of sin. Such teachers we want."—The Indian Br. Daniel was asked upon his death-bed, whether he was contented to die? To this he answered, with a smile, "that he was satisfied with whatever our Saviour should do with him." During his whole illness he preached the Gospel to his countrymen, and his happy departure to the Lord produced a great emotion in the hearts of all present.

The Indian congregation consisted now of four classes; communicants, baptized, candidates for baptism, and catechumens; and the Lord laid a peculiar blessing upon each of them. Thus was the Indian congregation situated, when suddenly a most violent persecution arose. Some white people in the neighbourhood continued to do every thing in their power to seduce the Indians from their connexion with the Brethren, not only by base insinuations, but by endeavouring to promote drunkenness and other crimes amongst them. The most dangerous of all their insinuations was, that the Brethren, being allied to the French in Canada, fomented the disturbances which then took place, and intended to furnish the Indians with arms, to fight against the English. This falsehood they spread about with such boldness, that at last the whole country was alarmed and filled with terror.

March the 1st, Mr. Hegeman, justice of the peace in Filkentown, arrived in Shekomeko, and informed Br. Mack, that it was his duty to inquire, what sort of people the Brethren were, for that the most dangerous tenets and views were ascribed to them. He added, that as to himself, he disbelieved all those lying reports concerning them, and acknowledged the mission in Shekomeko to be a work of God, because, by the labour of the Brethren, the most savage heathen had been so evidently changed, that he, and many other Christians, were put to shame by their godly walk and conversation: but that, notwithstanding

his own persuasion, it would be of service to the Brethren themselves, if he was suffered minutely to examine into their affairs, with a view to silence their adversaries. Hearing that Br. Buettner was absent, he only desired that he might be informed of his return, and thus left them. After that, the Brethren remained unmolested till May, when Brother Buettner returning to Shekomeko, the missionaries informed the justice of the peace of his arrival. Upon this, a corporal came on the 14th, to demand their attendance on the Friday following in Pickipsi, about thirty miles off, to exercise with the militia. But their names not being inserted in the list, they did not appear. Soon after, a similar message being sent, and the names of the missionaries Rauch, Buettner, and Shaw, expressly mentioned, Br. Buettner went some days previous to the time appointed, to Captain Herrman in Reinbeck, and represented to him, that as ministers called to preach the Gospel to the heathen, they ought to be exempted from military services. The captain replied, that they would be under a necessity to prove and swear to the validity of their calling; but dismissed them for the present. On June 24th, a justice of the peace, with some officers and twelve men, arrived from Pickipsi at Shekomeko, and examined the whole affair. He considered the accusations brought against them, respecting the Indians, to be groundless; yet wished them to take two oaths. One was: "That King George, being the lawful sovereign of the kingdom, he would not in any way encourage the Pretender." The other: "That he rejected transubstantiation, the worship of the Virgin Mary, purgatory, &c." Br. Buettner assured him, that the missionaries could assent to every point contained in the oaths, but that he hoped they would not insist upon their swearing; for though he did not condemn those who took a lawful oath, yet he wished, for conscience sake, to be excused; that he would, however, submit to every punishment inflicted upon perjured persons, if he were found acting contrary to his asseveration made by *Yes* or *No*. The justice expressed his satisfaction for the present, but engaged the mission-

aries in a penalty of 40*l.* to appear before the court in Pickipsi on the 16th of October. He then visited the Christian Indians in their plantations, and took leave with much civility.

June 22d, the missionaries went to Reinbeck in obedience to a summons received. As they were setting out, John said: "Go, Brethren, go in peace; I know to whom you are going, but our Saviour is greater than they." They were now called upon in public court to prove that they were privileged teachers. Buettner produced his written vocation, and his certificate of ordination, duly signed by Bishop David Nitschman. All these evidences were rejected by the court. But the justice, Mr. Beckman, assured the missionaries, that he had no idea of punishing them, but only wished to examine into their affairs, and therefore desired them to appear before the court to be held at Pickipsi in October next.

But the accusations of their enemies increasing very fast, the magistrates thought proper to hasten the examination, and the missionaries were obliged to appear in Filkentown on the 14th of July, their friend John Rau (a farmer near Skekomeko) kindly accompanying them. They were first called upon to take their oath; but they remained stedfast in their request to be excused. Three witnesses were then heard against them. But their evidence being partly without foundation, and partly nugatory and trifling, it made no impression upon the court. John Rau was next examined. He answered, that he had known the Brethren from their first coming into the country, and could say nothing but what tended to their honour; that he had frequently been present with his whole family at their meetings, and had never seen any thing to justify the strange accusations brought against them. Upon this the court broke up, and they were again honourably acquitted.

Meanwhile the adversaries of the Brethren had repeatedly accused them before the governor of New York, till he at length resolved to send for them, and to examine into the truth of these reports. The Brn. Buettner and Senseman

from Shekomeko, and Shaw from Bethlehem, went accordingly, and found upon their arrival, that the attention of the whole town was raised. But Mr. Beckman, who had examined the Brethren in Reinbeck, happening at that time to be in New York, publicly took their part, and affirmed, that "the good done by them among the Indians was undeniable."

August 11th and 12th, these three Brethren were ordered before the governor and the court, and each separately examined. At the close Br. Buettner addressed the governor to this effect: "We are subject to God and the magistrates, and would rather patiently suffer than oppose them. But our cause is the cause of God, to whom the souls of all men belong. For his sake we live among the savages, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ unto them. We neither desire to gain money, nor covet their land, nor shall we ever have these views. The Lord our Saviour has supported us hitherto, and he will support us for the future: for we are in his hands, and place unlimited confidence in him, being assured, that nothing can befall us without his permission." August the 21st they had leave to return home, and were desired to live according to their religious tenets, in such a manner that no suspicions might arise concerning them.

The Brn. Buettner and Shaw arrived at Shekomeko on the 9th of September; but Br. Senseman went to Bethlehem, to give an account of the above-mentioned transactions. Br. Buettner was however obliged to go again to Pickipsi in October, the summons being yet in force. He had already suffered greatly in his health, and was detained there two days in very severe weather. At last, by the interference of a friend, his cause was brought forward, and having received a dismission from the governor himself, he was liberated for the present, without further examination.

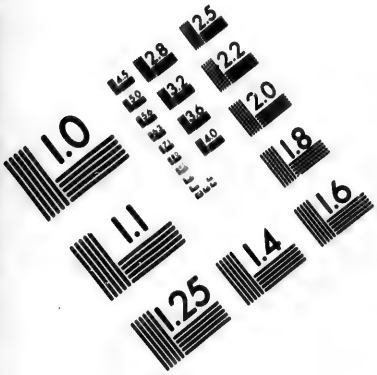
It now appeared plain to every candid observer, that the accusations against the Brethren arose either from misconception or malice. Many people, and even some of distinguished rank among the magistrates, acknowledged the sincerity of their views, and the good arising from their

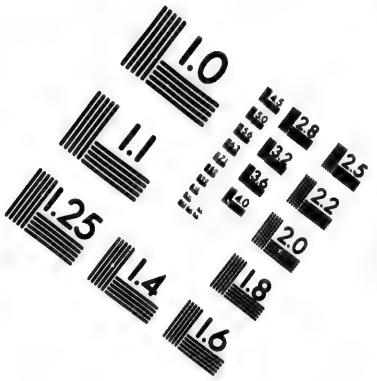
endeavours; for the preaching of the Gospel had produced so evident a change in the conduct of the Indians, that every beholder was amazed at it. Their adversaries therefore were obliged to adopt other measures, in which they succeeded. For, on the 15th of December, the sheriff and three justices of the peace arrived at Shekomeko, and, in the name of the governor and council of New York, prohibited all meetings of the Brethren; commanding the missionaries to appear before the court at Pickipsi, on the 17th instant. Br. Buettner being very , the Brn. Rauch and Mack appeared, when an Act was read to them, by which the ministers of the congregation of the Brethren, employed in teaching the Indians, were expelled the country, under pretence of being in league with the French, and forbid, under a heavy penalty, ever more to appear among the Indians, without having first taken the oaths of allegiance.

Amidst these heavy trials the Brethren found great comfort in adhering to that Scriptural advice: quietly to wait for the salvation of the Lord. Therefore, when the fathers of families in Shekomeko resolved to make complaint concerning the unjust treatment of their teachers, and to present a petition to the governor of New York, the missionaries persuaded them with kind words to be still, and patiently to suffer.

Meanwhile Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, to whom the care of the affairs of the Brethren in North America had been committed, arrived in New York. His first step was, to visit the persecuted congregation at Shekomeko. He arrived with Captain Garrison on the 6th of November, and staid there till the 18th.* The Bishop inquired minutely

* In an account of this visit he writes:—"As we rode into the town, we met a man standing by the road side, with a most remarkable countenance. We immediately thought of John, as described to us by Count Zinzendorf, and ventured to address him by that name; nor were we mistaken; he received us with great kindness, and brought us immediately to the missionaries. Then the venerable elder Abraham came to see us, saluted us, and though he was marked after the Indian custom, with the figure of a snake upon each cheek, yet the grace of our Saviour was so visible in his countenance, that we were struck with





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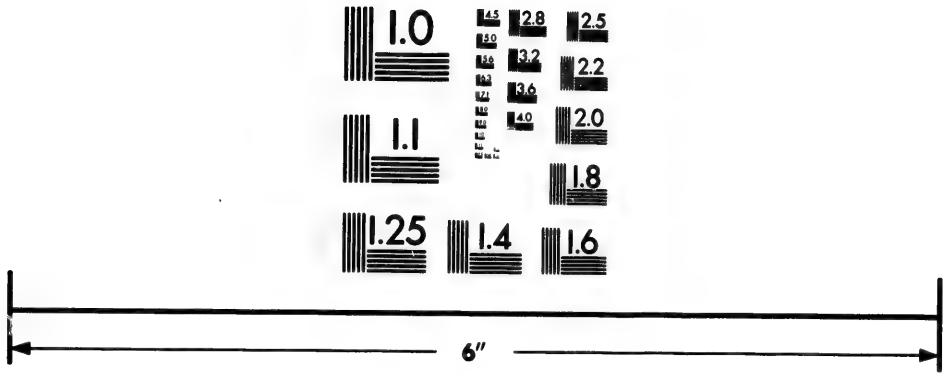

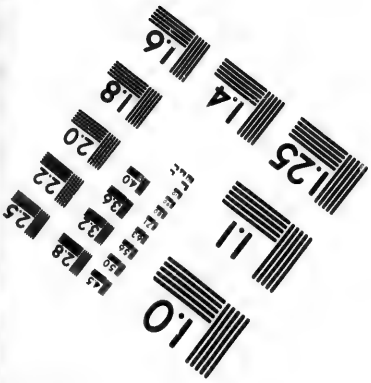

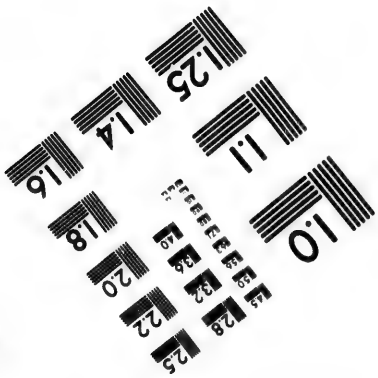

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into the circumstances of each individual, exhorting them all to remain faithful to the Lord, and firmly to believe, that he would not forsake them. In doing this he found much reason to rejoice over the course of the congregation, and the declarations of the believing Indians.*

That faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Gottlob Buettner, was now drawing near the end of his pilgrimage; frequent attacks of spitting of blood had, for a considerable time past, gradually weakened his constitution; but the hard life he led among the Indians, and above all the persecutions, attended with frequent and troublesome journies in bad weather, increased his infirmities, and hastened his dissolution. He fell gently and happily asleep in Jesus, Feb. 23, 1745, in the presence of all the Indian assistants, after having exhorted them with his dying lips, to abide faithful unto the end. He was only in the 29th year of his age.

The Indians wept over him, as children over a beloved parent. To show their regard, they dressed his corpse in white, and interred his remains with great solemnity in the burying-ground at Shekomeko, watering his grave with numberless tears: they even used to go and weep over it for a long time after.

The Elders in Bethlehem were now compelled, by the Act above-mentioned, to recall all the missionaries from Shekomeko, that they might not give further occasion for suspicion, by continuing to reside there. The grief felt by these faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ, in leaving their beloved congregation, was past description. But they patiently submitted to wait till God should reveal their

awe and amazement. The rest of the assistants came one after the other, and bid us welcome in the most affectionate manner. Indeed there was not one of the congregation, who did not express joy at our arrival. They appeared altogether as meek as lambs."

* A baptized woman's cottage was burnt down, while she was working in her plantation, and but few of her goods were saved. When she returned home, every one expressed great sorrow for her loss, upon which she replied: "That she had been on that very day, while at work, considering, that she had gained all her property by an illegal traffic in rum, and therefore she was satisfied to lose it in this manner."

innocence, and dispel the raging storm. However, the congregation in Shekomeko continued to meet in their usual order, to edify each other, and only now and then one or more Brethren, acquainted with the language, were sent to visit and advise with them. They conversed in an edifying manner with each individually, and sometimes held conferences with the Indian assistants, attending likewise the meetings held by them. The grace of God so powerfully prevailed among them, that the hearts of these visitors were filled with wonder and praise. A missionary wrote to Bethlehem: "I arrived in the evening at Isaac's cottage, and found it filled with Indians, before whom Isaac was bearing a glorious testimony of our Saviour and his atonement. I would not enter, but went out into the wood, kneeled down, and thanked our Saviour for the abundance of his grace, praying that he would continue to reveal himself among them." The Indians also came frequently to Bethlehem, and acquired a better knowledge of the duties of their office, in watching over the spiritual welfare of the people committed to their care, and always returned home strengthened in faith. The awakened Indians often boldly reproved the white people for their sinful way of life, and whenever they were interrogated, spoke the truth without any reserve.

On one occasion, a white man asked John, "Whether the Brethren were papists?" John wished to know who the papists were; and when he heard of the worship of images, he answered, "that he supposed those people were more like papists, who worshipped their cows, horses, and plantations, as they had also done formerly." The white man replied: "But why are the people so enraged at the Brethren?" John answered: "Why did the people crucify the Lord Jesus, and throw Paul bound into prison?"

An Indian woman from Menissing paid a visit to John, and told him, that as soon as she had a good heart, she would also turn to the Lord Jesus. "Ah!" replied John, "you want to walk on your head! How can you get a good heart, unless you come first to Jesus?"

Meanwhile the enmity of the adversaries increased, and those Brethren who travelled about in the concerns of the missions, had to suffer much oppression and persecution. This was the case with the Brn. Frederic Post, and David Zeisberger. The latter went from Georgia to Pennsylvania as a boy, and having turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, resolved to devote himself wholly to the service of God among the heathen. Having received some instruction in the Iroquois language from Br. Pyrlaeus, he travelled with Br. Frederic Post in the beginning of this year into their country, with a view to improve in it. The enemies of the mission soon accused them of treacherous views, and accordingly they were arrested in Albany, and after much abuse brought to New York, and confined in prison. The text appointed for the day of their imprisonment happened to be, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake." Matt. v. 11. These words comforted and encouraged the Brethren in prison, and they spent their time very usefully, in making further progress in the language of the Iroquois.

The Lord at this time inclined the heart of Mr. Thomas Noble, a respectable merchant in New York, to care for them. He visited them in prison, sent them provisions and other necessaries; and dispatched his clerk, Henry van Vleck, to Bethlehem, with an account of the calamity which had befallen them. Among the many visits they received in prison, one from a New England gentleman appears worthy of notice. He beheld them with great earnestness, and at last broke out in these words: "Though you are unknown to me, yet I am fully convinced that the accusations brought against you are all lies, and I believe that you suffer this for Christ's sake. I am amazed at your resignation; but indeed it cannot but be a blessed situation, to be imprisoned for the name of Jesus Christ, for all who love the Lord Jesus, must expect to be hated and persecuted."

After repeated examinations, the Brethren being found

innocent of every charge brought against them, were at length dismissed, and returned to Bethlehem after seven weeks' imprisonment.

When the missionary Mack, his wife, and the widow of the late Br. Buettner, and Br. Post's wife, besides several children, returned from Shekomeko to Bethlehem, they met with much trouble, through the enmity of some enraged justices at Sopus. Br. Post's wife, being an Indian woman, furnished a pretence for detaining the whole company as traitors. The mob assembled, and great mischief might have followed, had not Colonel Loewenstein very providentially arrived, and having publicly reprimanded the justice who detained them, set them at liberty; however, they were insulted by the mob, and had to suffer much in the open street from the cold and violent rain, before they were permitted to proceed on their journey, loaded with curses and reproaches.

Yet amidst all these tribulations, the Brethren were greatly comforted by perceiving that their labour was not in vain in the Lord. In April they had the joy to baptize, in Bethlehem, the first fruits of the Gospel among the Delaware nation. These were a man and his wife, called Gottlieb and Mary. Being both of the royal tribe, their high-born relations were greatly displeased, and resolved to take them away by force, and 36 of them, among whom were several young warriors, came to Bethlehem, behaving at first in a very turbulent manner. Being led into a large hall, they were plentifully served with meat and drink. Gottlieb and Mary partook of their repast, and other Indian Brethren and Sisters came to bid them welcome. Bishop Spangenberg also, with some of the elders of the congregation, went and expressed satisfaction at their visit. Amazed at so kind a reception, their anger abated, their countenances were softened, and conversation became lively. After dinner, Gottlieb and Mary, with other Indians, accompanied them to the lodgings prepared for them. Here they opened their commission, and addressing Gottlieb, said, that they had heard that he and his wife were baptized, and had become slaves of the white people.

But as they loved them, they could not help coming to hear the truth of the matter. Gottlieb, glad of so favourable an opportunity to bear a testimony to the truth, boldly answered, "that he had been formerly a wicked man, and a lover of evil, as they all might well remember; but having heard, that God was manifest in the flesh, and had died for man, and would deliver all those, who believe in him, from their sins, he had wished to experience the truth of it, that he might no more be obliged to serve sin and the devil. By receiving this doctrine, he had not become a slave, but remained as free as formerly." The other Indians present, confirmed Gottlieb's speech, and exhorted them to become likewise partakers of the grace of Jesus Christ. The savages seemed extremely uneasy during the whole conversation, and early the next morning set off on their return. Some time after, they sent a message to Gottlieb, desiring that, having so great a knowledge of God, he would come and instruct them. He hesitated a long while, but at last went, and was immediately asked why he had not come sooner. He answered: "You know that when a child is just born it cannot speak. Thus I could not speak immediately after my conversion, but now I am come to tell you something of our Saviour." He then preached the Gospel to them; describing the happiness to be found in Jesus, and returned full of joy and comfort. In September he had the satisfaction to see his own brother follow him, who also was baptized, and called Joachim.

Another Delaware Indian was taken ill on the road to Bethlehem, and sent to the Brethren, begging that they might come to see him, "for the sake of that great love they were known to bear to the Indians." His request was granted, and having spoken with great contrition of the evil state of his heart, he recommended himself to the remembrance and prayers of the Brethren. They heard soon after, that he departed this life in the same hour in which he was included in the public prayers of the congregation. He had two wives, and exhorted them to go immediately after his death to Bethlehem, and to turn to

Jesus. One of them followed his advice, and was baptized the year after.

A synod having been appointed to meet this year in Bethlehem, the Brn. Rauch and Bishop were sent to Shekomeko with a letter, desiring the Indian congregation there to send a deputy. The aim of a synod having been explained to them, the fathers of families met. Their unanimous choice fell upon Jonathan, and they declared, that they could impart to him every thought of their hearts. At taking leave, they sent various messages; and their great love to the congregation at Bethlehem was particularly evident on this occasion. Indeed, this brotherly love was mutual, and their deputy brought a renewed confirmation of it, upon his return from the synod.

An European being present when a brother from Bethlehem came to visit the Indians, and seeing the affectionate manner in which they received him, declared afterwards, that of all the people he had ever seen, none were possessed of such sincere affection as these Indians.

Perhaps nothing could be more evident proof of the change wrought in the disposition of the believing Indians, than their wish to have their children educated in Bethlehem, that they might be preserved as much as possible from seduction. For the love of the heathen Indians towards their children is so excessive, that they cannot bear to be deprived of the sight of them for any length of time.

Though the Brethren were thankful that a mutual intercourse could be kept up between Bethlehem and Shekomeko, yet it was evident, that the suspension of the regular service of the missionaries would finally be productive of harm to the congregation. The discourses of the Indian assistants were indeed attended with blessing to the hearers, being dictated by hearts filled with the love of Christ, and an experimental conviction of the truth of what they advanced; yet the missionaries wished to follow the commandment of our Saviour, and to teach them all things which he commanded his disciples; for which, more knowledge and gifts were required, than the Indians could be ex-

pected to possess. They therefore resolved to propose, that they should remove out of the province of New York, and settle at Wajomick on the Susquehannah, where they might have enjoyed perfect liberty of conscience, been less exposed to the seductions of the white people, and not called upon to take share in the war. An account was also received that the Shawanose, a few excepted, had removed from Wajomick to the Ohio.

But that no difficulty might be made on the part of the Iroquois, to whom this country belonged, the Brethren sent Bishop Spangenberg, Conrad Weisser, David Zeisberger, and Shebosch to the great council at Onondago. They suffered many hardships by the way, but experienced also some remarkable proofs of the kind providence of God. Having been without provisions for several days, they found a quarter of a bear, hung up for the use of travellers by an Indian hunter, according to their custom. Such timely relief they received more than once, and were therefore encouraged to assist other hungry travellers whom they met on the road. One day they found two Iroquois warriors, who had lost all their provisions, were almost naked, and had travelled nearly 500 miles. One of them was also on the road to Onondago. Conrad Weisser asked him, how he intended to reach that place in such a situation? His answer was: "God, who dwells in heaven, has created the earth and all creatures therein, and he feeds numbers of men and beasts in the wilderness. He can and will feed me also." While they were in company with the Brethren, they received their full share out of the common kettle, and thus he was fed according to his faith.

Bishop Spangenberg and his company having arrived in Onondago, the great council renewed the covenant made between Count Zinzendorf and the Iroquois, with great solemnity; the three Brethren were adopted as their countrymen, each receiving a peculiar name, and their proposal to remove the congregation of believing Indians to Wajomick, was well received. But, contrary to all expectation, the Indians in Shekomeko refused to accept it. They alleged, that the governor of New York had particularly

commanded them to stay in their own town, promising them his protection; and that, on this account, they could not leave the country, without giving new cause for suspicion, and encouraging a new persecution against the missionaries.

But soon after this, an event happened, which obliged the Indians to follow the advice given them by the Brethren; for the white people came to a resolution, to drive the believing Indians from Shekomeko by main force, under a pretence, that the ground upon which the town was built, belonged to other people. The situation of the congregation at that place became now very distressing. The white people seized upon the land, and even appointed a watch to prevent all visits from Bethlehem. The unbelieving Indians in Westenhuck made several attempts to draw the Christian Indians in Shekomeko into their party; and some Christians in the neighbourhood exerted themselves, to persuade them to join their congregations, partly by contemptuous insinuations against the Brethren in general, and partly by accusing the missionaries of base views. But the greatest grievance was, that some not only fell into deviations, but even into a sinful course, which soon occasioned a division among them, and much slander. This melancholy change of affairs caused the most pungent grief to the Indian assistants, and to the congregation at Bethlehem; to whom these things were mentioned by the former, with great sorrow, and the Brethren united in most fervent prayer and supplication to God, for this poor persecuted people, that he would help and relieve them by his mighty power.

CHAPTER IV.

In the beginning of 1746, the Bishops Cammerhof and Spangenberg, with the elders of Bethlehem, zealously exerted themselves to afford some relief to the oppressed congregation in Shekomeko, which was now persecuted more than ever; and having apprized his Excellency George Thomas, governor of Pennsylvania, of the situation of the Christian Indians, he ordered, "that all who took

refuge in Pennsylvania should be protected in the quiet practice of their religious profession." On this being made known to them, ten families, in all forty-four persons, left Shekomeko in April, with sorrow and tears, and were received in Bethlehem with tenderness and compassion. Several of them immediately built cottages near the settlement. Their morning and evening meetings were regulated; the service performed in the Mahikan language; and they were again permitted to partake of the Holy Communion.

This small Indian settlement, called Friedenshutten, (Tents of Peace), was established merely for temporary convenience; the Brethren judging that an Indian town could not be supported so near to Bethlehem. They therefore purchased 200 acres, situated on the junction of the rivers Mahony and Lecha, beyond the Blue Mountains, about thirty miles from Bethlehem, and the same distance from Wajomick. The missionary Martin Mack went with some white Brethren, and some of the Indian assistants, to mark out the new town, which they called Gnadenhutten, (Tents of Grace). When the account of this new Settlement reached Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch, many of the Indians in those places were also induced to remove to Gnadenhutten, so that in a short time the latter place contained more Christian Indians than the two former.

During this period, divine service was daily and regularly performed in Shekomeko, and the Indian assistants bore witness to the truth of the Gospel before many travellers who passed through the town. Their discourses were plain, but powerful, and proceeding from their experience, left a good impression upon many. Their manner of singing hymns was particularly edifying. After the discourse they treated the strangers with great hospitality, and when they had no other place to accommodate them, spread their table in the chapel; conversing with them about the salvation of their souls in a useful manner. July 24th, the Brn. Hagen and Post visited them from Bethlehem. They held a love-feast with the remaining baptized, and by a written deed of gift, secured the chapel to the Indians, as

their property. They then recommended them in prayer to the good Shepherd who laid down his life for the sheep, that he would not suffer them to stray, nor to be plucked out of his hands. Thus the Brethren concluded their labours in Shekomeko with sorrowful hearts, yet praising God, who had first caused the light of the Gospel to shine unto the heathen in this place. Within the space of two years, sixty-one adults had here been made partakers of holy baptism, exclusive of those baptized in Bethlehem.

The converted Indians were now dispersed in different places, at a considerable distance from each other, *viz.* in Gnadenhutten, Bethlehem, Pachgatgoch, Wechquatnach, and Shekomeko. Gnadenhutten now became a very regular and pleasant town. The church (which was consecrated in July) stood in the valley, on one side the Indian houses forming a crescent, upon a rising ground; and on the other, stood the house of the missionary and the burying-ground. The road to Wajomick and other Indian towns lay through the settlement. The missionaries tilled their own grounds, and every Indian family their plantation, and on the 18th of August, they had the satisfaction to partake of the first fruits of the land, at a love feast.

Christian Rauch and Martin Mack were the first missionaries who resided here, and administered the Word and Sacraments to the congregation. They were succeeded by others; the Brethren being of opinion, that frequent changes of the ministers might be useful, in preventing too great dependence upon men, and fixing the hope of the Indians more upon God alone. Br. Frederic Post stayed some time in Pachgatgoch, living in the Indian manner, preaching the Gospel, and at the same time working at his trade as a joiner.

The misery of the Christian Indians who had not left Shekomeko, daily increased by the continuation of the war, and by frequent messages, requiring them to take up arms against the French. The confusion occasioned thereby in Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch was great. Some of the deluded Indians even pleaded, that the Brethren had forbidden them to join the militia. A white man re-

ported that the Brethren were in possession of 3000 stand of arms for the use of the Indians who should join the French, and make inroads into Pennsylvania. Upon this, government ordered, that the Brethren in Bethlehem should send a deputy to Newtown in Jersey to be publicly examined. Here their innocence was fully proved, their false accuser confounded, and a heavy fine levied upon him. But Mr. Henry Antes, the deputy, exerted himself in his behalf, and procured his release. He had also the satisfaction to bear a powerful testimony concerning Jesus Christ our Saviour before a numerous assembly. One of the Indians, who was threatened by his relations with death, while preparing to return to the congregation, boldly answered, that he would not act otherwise, nor would he rest, till he was again united to his brethren, and though they might kill him, they could not destroy his soul, which being redeemed by the blood of Christ, was of much greater value than his body. Several who owned their deviations, and repented of them, wrote or dictated very penitential letters to the congregation. Others, who could neither write nor dictate letters, came to Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten, acknowledged and lamented their errors, before the public assembly, begging pardon of all present. All these penitents were received with open arms, and publicly assured of the forgiveness of the congregation, and many tears of love and joy were shed by all present on this affecting occasion.

Soon after this the small-pox broke out among the Indians, first at Bethlehem and then at Gnadenhutten. Eighteen persons departed this life, among whom were several very useful and valuable assistants, whose loss the missionaries most sincerely lamented, viz. John, Isaac, David, Jonas, Abraham, and his wife Sarah.

John was one of the first-fruits. As a heathen he distinguished himself by his sinful practices; and as his vices became the more seductive, on account of his natural wit and humour, so as a Christian he became a most powerful and persuasive witness of our Saviour among his nation. His gifts were sanctified by the grace of God, and em-

ployed in such a manner, as to be the means of blessing both to Europeans and Indians. Few of his countrymen could vie with him in point of Indian oratory: his discourses were full of animation, and his words penetrated like fire into the hearts of his countrymen. In short, he appeared chosen by God to be a witness to his people, and was four years active in this service. Nor was he less respected as a chief among the Indians, no affairs of state being transacted without his advice and consent. During his illness, the believing Indians went often and stood weeping around his bed. Even then he spoke with power and energy of the truth of the Gospel, and in all things approved himself, to his last breath, as a minister of God.

Jonas was John's assistant in teaching, and having a particular gift in the leading of souls, he was universally beloved and esteemed. He was remarkably cheerful during his last illness, predicted the hour of his departure, and desired, that all the believing Indians present might assemble around his bed, to whom he delivered a most moving farewell discourse, reminding them of their former unhappy course as heathen without God in the world, extolling the grace of God now revealed to them in Christ Jesus, and begging them with many tears to abide faithful unto the end, and to follow the advice of their teachers. He then added: "I shall now soon go and see my Saviour, and those wounds which I have preached unto you, and by which I am healed." Further he foretold, that the enemy would repeat his endeavours to seduce and confound them, and to sift them as wheat, advising them not to give ear to his insinuations, but to cleave to Jesus, who would defend and protect them. This discourse left an indelible impression upon all present, and was frequently repeated when his name was mentioned in conversation.

Dreadful as the small-pox appears to the Indians in general, the believers notwithstanding showed but little fear. The cheerful, contented, and happy disposition of those who departed this life by means of the contagion, was edifying to all who were witnesses of it, and many wished soon to follow them into a blissful eternity; for the

grace of God prevailed most powerfully throughout the whole congregation.

Among those Indians who resided this year in Bethlehem, was a woman, near eighty years old, and quite blind. She had expressed a wish to be brought to Bethlehem. After a year's delay, her friends, who were enemies to the Gospel, resolved to comply with her request; and putting her into a cart, which they drew themselves, they reached Bethlehem after a tedious journey of twenty days. Here she heard the Gospel with great eagerness, but falling sick, began most earnestly to beg for baptism, which was administered to her on her death-bed. After this solemn and blessed transaction she exclaimed, "Now my time is come; I shall now go home and see the Lord my Saviour. This was wanting a year ago; I always said, that I must first come to Bethlehem and be baptized, and then I should depart this life." The day following, in the morning, she fell asleep in the Lord.

The Indian congregations in Gnadenhutten and Friedenshutten now received their proper regulations, though the latter place was by degrees entirely forsaken. Their form of worship was the same as in all the other settlements of the United Brethren, so far as circumstances would admit. The congregation met twice a day, early in the morning and in the evening after their work, to sing and pray, and sometimes to hear a discourse upon the text of Scripture appointed for the day. By these discourses, the missionaries endeavoured gradually to make their people better acquainted with all the saving truths of the Gospel. Several parts of the Scriptures, translated into the Mahikan language, were also publicly read and expounded. A peculiar blessing rested upon these meetings, as likewise upon their singing hymns in fellowship. Children of baptized parents were baptized soon after their birth, but the baptism of adults was always administered on Sundays, or other festival days. The particular meetings of the baptized and communicants were held here in the same order as they had been formerly regulated in Shekomeko. The children had likewise their meetings, in

which they were addressed in a manner suitable to their capacities. Meetings were also held separately with the married people, widowers, widows, single brethren, single sisters, boys and girls. The Holy Communion was administered to the communicants every month.

In providing for the women, the wives of the missionaries, and also Indian sisters, appointed for that purpose, assisted with great success, and in this view their presence was required in all the conferences relating to the whole congregation.

In the conversations held by the missionaries with the Indian assistants, they endeavoured to instil scriptural principles into their minds; they also attended to their remarks and proposals, promoting true brotherly love among them, as fellow-labourers in the work of the Lord. Occasionally the daily meetings were committed to the care of the most experienced and gifted amongst them. Their discourses were animated, plain, and powerful, and it gave peculiar satisfaction to the missionaries, to find such an apostolic spirit resting upon them. Sometimes they met with opposition. Once a savage declared to them, "That he had firmly resolved to continue in his Indian belief and manner of living; that he had once endeavoured to reform, and in this view spent some time with a Christian moralist, who told him what he ought to do, but lived contrary to his own precepts; that he had also resided a long time among the white people, who had the *great book*, which taught them how to live, but that they lived like Indians, committing all manner of evil; in short, that he had never seen a man who lived agreeably to the directions contained in that book." The Indian assistants answered with great cheerfulness: "Observe our teachers, they live according to the precepts contained in the great Book; we also endeavour to do it, and are happy in so doing." Others, who acknowledged the excellency of the doctrine, declared, "that it would be very impolitic in them not to have bad hearts, lest the white people, who were now afraid of them, chiefly on account of their bad hearts, should afterwards do with them what they pleased."

The believers contradicted this assertion, by quoting their own example: "When the traders come," said they, "and offer their rum to you, you suffer yourselves to be immediately deceived; you get drunk, and then they do with you what they please, therefore your bad hearts cannot defend you against them, but make you an easy prey to their cunning. But when they come to us, we refuse their rum, and thus they cannot treat us as they please; our hearts, which believe in Jesus, resist their temptations, and defend us against them."

Besides their labour in the congregation, the missionaries never omitted to follow those who had strayed, with love and patience, and in this blessed work received much help from the Indian assistants. When any poor lost sheep returned to the congregation, the joy of the flock was great; but when members of the congregation conducted themselves in such a manner, that they could no longer be suffered to dwell in the place, sorrow was as general.

At the synods of the Brethren, two of which were held in Pennsylvania in the year 1747, the care of the Indian mission, and the propagation of the Gospel in general, was a chief object of consideration. Some Indian deputies from Gnadenhutten were present, and approved themselves useful and active members. The conversion of the negroes in New York was likewise taken into consideration, and Br. Christian Froelich received a commission to attend and preach the Gospel to them as circumstances would permit.

Several missionaries, both in Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten, were now studying the Maquaw or Mohawk language, the chief dialect of the Iroquois, to qualify themselves for the work, and Br. Pyrlaeus, who had already become a proficient in the Mahikan language, and had compiled a hymn-book for the use of the congregation in Gnadenhutten, was by this time also able to instruct in the Mohawk language, and spent his time, from four o'clock in the morning till late in the evening, in this employment, except when prevented by the duties of his office as minister.

As the Indian languages had no words for many new ideas and objects, the Brethren were obliged to enrich them with several English and German words, and by degrees custom rendered these new terms intelligible. Several Indian Brethren at Gnadenhutten were also desirous of learning the German language, but they never made much progress; but those Indian single Brethren and Sisters, who had requested and obtained leave to live at Bethlehem, and more particularly the children educated in the schools, learnt German with ease. The evident proofs of the grace of God operating in the hearts of these Indian children, gave great joy to their teachers and overseers, and care being taken that they should not lose their native tongue, many of them became very useful to the mission by the knowledge they acquired of the German or English languages.

The support of the Indian congregation in Gnadenhutten was a principal object of the attention of the Brethren in the year 1747. It was an evident proof of a change of heart that the Indians went diligently to work, and planted the fields portioned out to each family; but not having land sufficient the Brethren bought a neighbouring plantation for their use. This gave them great pleasure. One of them said, "It seemed hitherto as if we had lain in a short bed, never able to stretch at full length, but now we lie in a large one." A saw-mill being erected at Gnadenhutten, many Indians had the means of earning money by cutting timber and conveying it to Bethlehem in floats down the Lecha. Hunting, however, remained the chief support of the people, and from fifteen to twenty deer or bears were frequently shot in one day. If provisions proved scarce, they got wild honey, chesnuts, and bilberries in the forests. Still a continual supply of provisions was required from Bethlehem; for the Indians of Gnadenhutten were frequently visited by various companies, chiefly Delawares and Shawanose, whom they not only received with kindness, but also entertained, rejoicing that these heathen had thus an opportunity of hearing the Gospel. Nothing made so good an impression upon the

savages as that peace and harmony prevailing among the believers, and their contentment amidst all troubles. This gave great weight to their testimony of Jesus Christ.

In 1746, Br. Mack visited the Iroquois, at Shomokin and Long Island, preaching the Gospel amidst much opposition, and enduring many hardships. After his return to Bethlehem, the Iroquois sent a message by the chief Shikellimus, requesting that a blacksmith might be sent to Shomokin. The governor of Pennsylvania having assented to the request of the Indians, in the following spring the missionary, Martin Mack, went again to Shomokin, and having agreed with Shikellimus and his council respecting the terms upon which a blacksmith should be sent to dwell with them, the Brethren, John Hagen and Joseph Powel, went thither in June (1747) to build a house for this purpose, and having finished it in a few weeks, Br. Anthony Schmidt and his wife removed to Shomokin that same month and began to work. Br. Hagen having departed this life in September, Br. Mack and his wife went to Shomokin to superintend the new mission. They visited the Indians diligently, and improved every opportunity to preach the Gospel to them. Among other instances of savage barbarity practised here, they saw one of the most lamentable nature: a Mahikan woman having lost one child already by poison, had the misfortune to lose her last child, only four years old, by the same means, applied by a noted murderer. Her violent lamentations at the grave, and continual repetition of the words, "The sorcerer has robbed me of my only child! ah, the sorcerer has murdered my only child!" moved all who heard her with the greatest compassion. Sr. Mack endeavoured to comfort her, by describing Jesus Christ as the friend and Saviour of all the distressed. During this conversation she asked with great earnestness, "Do you believe that my child is now with your God?" "I do," replied Sr. Mack, "because our God is a friend of the children; and if you learn to know him, you may in eternity, find your child with him; for he is not only *our* God but also *your* God, and loves all men. He loved them so much, that

he became a man and died for you and me, that we all might be saved if we receive him," &c. This declaration left an abiding impression upon the mother and her husband.

Br. Mack had also the pleasure to see a girl of thirteen years of age, upon hearing his testimony, turn with her whole heart to the Lord. She often told her mother how she conversed with Jesus; even after her parents left Shomokin she remained in the same mind, and whenever an opportunity offered, sent word to Sr. Mack that she still loved our Saviour. After some time she fell sick, and perceiving that her dissolution was at hand, earnestly admonished her mother to love the Lord Jesus, and to return to the Brethren at Shomokin. Before her departure she desired that a small token, by way of remembrance, might be sent to Sr. Mack. With this her last request the parents complied, contrary to the usual custom of the Indians, who generally bury the property of the deceased with them.

Towards the close of the year 1746, Bishop Spangenberg and other Brethren paid a visit to the Indians in Wajomick, by whom they were received as angels sent from God, and their words heard with uncommon eagerness. The aim of this visit was to preach the word of the cross to these Indians also, and to establish a covenant of friendship between them and the Mahikan nation, to which most of the believing Indians belonged.

In January, 1748, Bishop Cammerhof and Br. Joseph Powel went to Shomokin. They suffered so much on their journey from the great quantity of ice, water, and snow, that they were frequently in danger, and their journal cannot be read without astonishment; but the Lord helped them through all difficulties. The Bishop found by the way several opportunities to preach the Gospel with good effect to bewildered Christians, and this proved sufficient consolation for all the fatigue and danger he had endured. The intention of his journey was to make some regulations by which the Gospel might be more easily

propagated among the Iroquois, Shomokin being a central town. He had several conferences not only with the Brethren there, but with Shikellimus and his council, before whom he bore a powerful testimony of the salvation purchased by the death of the Lord Jesus Christ, which left a deep impression upon them. On his return he experienced many singular proofs of the gracious providence of God. The Brethren in Bethlehem considered it their duty to encourage those in Shomokin by frequent visits, their situation being attended with many difficulties. Their house was frequently injured by the violent storms of thunder and rain prevailing in that district. Sometimes the plantations were destroyed by hail, and earthquakes shook their dwellings; but their principal danger arose from the drunkenness of the Indians, whose fury in that state threatens the lives of all who interfere with them. Parties of warriors of different nations, then at war with the Catawbas, frequently passed through with captives, who were treated with great cruelty, and the Brethren, as white people, were often in danger of being murdered. But their confidence in God remained unshaken; otherwise, witnessing such horrid abominations, and subjected to great abuse and insult, their courage and faith might have been subdued.

About this time the missionaries Mack and Zeisberger went to Long Island and Great Island, situated in the west branch of the Susquehannah, above Otstonwackin. They found many people ill, but did not venture to give them medicine; for had only one of the patients died, the Indians, without hesitation, would have blamed the missionaries. Being exceedingly affected at the sight of these people, addicted to every heathenish vice, and now tormented by famine and sickness, they endeavoured to describe to them the love of Jesus Christ their Saviour, ever ready to help all those who believe in him. But they found few disposed to hear; the Indians quoting the bad example of the Christians in the neighbourhood as a sufficient cause for rejecting their doctrine. Thus they re-

turned with sorrowful hearts from their labour, having several times been in danger of losing their lives by the brutality of the savages.

CHAPTER V.

In 1748 a synod was held in Quitopehill, in which the mission among the Indians was considered with much attention, and among other resolutions it was determined to "continue to preach nothing to the heathen but Jesus and him crucified, repeating the same testimony of his Gospel, till the hearts of the heathen are awakened to believe; being fully convinced that the power of the cross is the word of God, which is alone able to bring souls from darkness into light;" and that, "The missionaries should never reject any heathen, not even the most abandoned and profligate, but consider them as persons to whom the grace of Jesus Christ ought to be offered."

A remarkable opportunity soon offered to act according to the last rule. A dissolute Indian woman came to Gnadenhutten, pretending to have the best views, but secretly endeavouring to seduce several persons. Her evil intentions being fully proved, she was called upon to appear before the Indian assistants, and informed, that this town was built only for those, who, being weary of sin and the service of Satan, were desirous of being saved; but that Gnadenhutten was not a place of residence for such as persist in sin; nor would such persons find companions here; she therefore must now leave the town, but as soon as she should sincerely change her mind, she should be received with pleasure. During the above address, her very countenance bespoke the condemnation of her conscience. She left the house with tears, and removed to another place. About a year after, her husband was much disfigured in a drunken frolic. This misfortune caused the poor man seriously to reflect on his conduct, and his wife reminding him of the Brethren, they both went to Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten, declaring their wish to know by experience, that God had saved the Indians also, by the shedding of

his precious blood. They believed, were afterwards baptized, and named Daniel and Ruth.

Another synod being held at Bethlehem in June, 1748, some of the most approved Indian Brethren were appointed assistants in the work of God in their nation. For their encouragement this was done in a solemn and public manner. Nicodemus (one of their number) departed this life at Gnadenhutten in August. He was a man of a distinguished character, and his conversion was a miracle of grace. As a heathen he was exceeded by none in the practice of evil, and much given to drunkenness. On hearing the word of the cross, he was one of the first who experienced its saving power, and was baptized in Dec. 1742. From a turbulent spirit he became patient, lowly and humble in heart, but strong in faith. In his walk and conversation he was an example to all, and whoever knew him before, beheld him now with amazement. By degrees, he became much enlightened in the divine truths of the Gospel, and was appointed elder of the congregation at Gnadenhutten, in which office he was universally respected. His walk with his God and Saviour was uninterrupted, and his faith daily strengthened by contemplating the sufferings and death of Jesus. He prayed without ceasing, both for himself and his countrymen, whom he greatly loved. If he perceived any insincerity among them, his concern was evident. He was very attentive to new objects, and as his manner of speaking was very figurative, his conversation proved highly instructive and useful. Once looking at the mill at Gnadenhutten, he addressed a missionary: "Brother," said he, "I discover something that rejoices my heart. I have seen the great wheel and many little ones; every one was in motion and seemed all alive, but suddenly all stopt, and the mill was as dead. I then thought; surely all depends upon one wheel, if the water runs upon that, every thing else is alive, but when that ceases to flow, all appears dead. Just so it is with my heart, it is dead as the wheel; but as soon as Jesu's blood flows upon it, it gets life and sets every thing in motion, and the whole man being governed

by it, it becomes evident, that there is life throughout. But when the heart is removed from the crucified Jesus, it dies gradually, and at length all life ceases" Upon another occasion he said, "I crossed the Lecha to-day in a boat, and being driven into the rapid current, was forced down the stream and nearly overset. I then thought; this is exactly the case of men who know not the Lord Jesus Christ, they are irresistibly hurried away by sin, cannot help themselves and in danger of being eternally lost: but as soon as our mighty Saviour takes the helm, we receive power to withstand the rapid stream of this world and sin." When the doctrine of the Holy Ghost became more clear to his mind, he once compared his body to a canoe, and his heart to the rudder, adding, "That the Holy Ghost was the master sitting at the rudder and directing the vessel." He was very diligent in his attendance on the heathen visitors, and his unaffected and solid conversation, but especially his fervent prayers in their behalf, made a lasting impression upon them. In his last illness, he thought much of the resurrection, and said: "I am now an old man and shall soon depart to the Lord; my body will soon be interred in our burying-ground; but it will rise most glorious; and when our Saviour shall call all those who have fallen asleep in him, they will rise to newness of life and glory." His countenance appeared at the same time as serene as that of an angel; he repeated his ardent desire to be at home with Jesus, and assured his friends, that his joy in the Lord had almost overpowered all sensation of pain, adding, "I am poor and needy and therefore amazed at the love of my Lord Jesus Christ, who is always with me." Thus he remained cheerful, till his happy departure, which fully proved the reality of his faith.

Among the Indians baptized in the year 1748, two merit attention, Christian Renatus and Anna Caritas. The former was an inhabitant of Meniolagomekah, a celebrated warrior of the Delaware nation, of a gigantic form, and rendered terrible by his exploits. He was formerly a great drunkard, and noted throughout the country as a monster

of iniquity. But true faith in the Lord Jesus changed his conduct. Being present at a baptism in Gnadenhutten, he was so much affected, that he could not refrain from tears. He owned with sorrow his former sinful life, and sought and found pardon and peace in the redemption of Jesus. The report of his conversion and baptism caused great astonishment among the Indians and white people, many of whom came to Gnadenhutten to examine into the truth of it. To all these visitors, he joyfully declared what the Lord had done for his soul. Anna Caritas was the first fruits of the Shawanose, a sensible old woman. She had long resided among the white people, but felt an impulse to see the Brethren. Her employers, who greatly esteemed her, as a good servant and housekeeper, could not persuade her to stay, but she went to Bethlehem in the depth of winter, believed in Jesus Christ, and would not depart, till her urgent request for baptism was granted.

Bishop Johannes von Watteville went in September, 1748, to North America, to hold a visitation in the Brethren's settlements. One great object was to become acquainted with the Indian congregation. For this purpose he went to Gnadenhutten; staid three days, preached the Gospel with fervour, and rejoiced at the grace prevailing there. He then proceeded with Bishop Cammerhof, and the Brn. Mack and Zeisberger to Wajomick, Neskopeko, Wabhallobank, and Shomokin. They spent three weeks on this journey; visiting the Shawanose, Chikasas, and Nantikoks, and preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In Shomokin Bishop von Watteville renewed the covenant made between the chief Shikellimus in the name of the Iroquois and Count Zinzendorf, from whom he delivered a present, and received the following answer: "Tell Johanan" (this being the name given to the Count by the Indians), "that his brethren the Six Nations salute him, for they love him, and desire him to salute all his Brethren, whom they love likewise."

In December he went with Bishop Cammerhof and Nathaniel Seidel to Shekomeko, Wechquatnach, and Pachgatgoch. In Shekomeko they found every thing

destroyed, except the burying-ground. Their chief object was to look after the lost sheep, and they were so fortunate as to find many of them either at home, or at their hunting huts. God blessed their endeavours with great success; though the contrast between those who had continued stedfast, and the backsliders, was evident in their very looks and behaviour. The missionaries were not discouraged, but preached the Gospel to them again, earnestly exhorting them to confess all their deviations with contrite hearts before the Lord, to crave his mercy and pardon, and to devote themselves anew unto him, who has received gifts for the rebellious also. They assured the penitent, that the congregation, whom they had offended, was ready and willing to readmit them to fellowship. This message of consolation had the desired effect. The deluded people confessed their transgressions with many tears. Nathaniel said, "I know, that I belong to my Saviour, and to his people. My horses often stray far into the woods, but always return to my hut, and thus I will return and seek our Saviour and the congregation." He added, "If a coal is taken from the fire, it loses its heat, and is extinguished; thus also my heart has lost its fervour, having strayed from the fellowship of the believers." Most of them were soon after readmitted to the Holy Communion, and the Brethren experienced on these occasions something of that joy which is in heaven over repenting sinners. They had also the comfort to baptize twenty Indians, among whom were two boys.

Upon their return, these three Brethren went to a town in the Jerseys, where Mr. Brainerd had preached the Gospel to the Indians, baptized about fifty, and made some good regulations among them. They wished him all possible success. The Brethren in Bethlehem were also of opinion, that they ought not in the least to interfere with the labours of this good man among the Indians, but rather to support him with their prayers. In the following year Mr. Brainerd and several of his Indian converts visited Gnadenhutten.

In 1749, thirteen Indian boys, educated in the schools

at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Fredericstown, were with a negro boy baptized. The custom of dressing the catechumens, who were to be baptized, in white, was now first introduced into the Indian mission.

About this time two adult Indians were baptized in Bethlehem, one of whom, called Keposh, had formerly been head-chief of the Delaware nation, and was now near eighty years of age. Many years ago he was taken ill and to all appearance died. The Indians having made every necessary preparation, sent messages to the different towns, to invite his friends to the burial, but at the end of three days, to the astonishment of all present, he awoke from his swoon. He wondered at the number surrounding his bed, knew nothing of the intention of their meeting, nor what had happened to him. He informed them, that a shining figure of a man clothed in white robes, had appeared to him as flying in the air, who, lifting him up from the earth, showed him a catalogue of his, and his people's sins, exhorting him to return and reform his life, and to reprove the Indians, on account of their wicked ways. This story was well known among the Indians, before they heard the Gospel. It is also certain, that the man actually strove to amend his life, but finding no power in himself to resist evil, and remembering the injunctions laid upon him, he believed the Gospel as soon as he heard it. He was called Solomon in baptism, and became a very respectable and useful member of the congregation. His eldest son not long after was baptized by Bishop von Watteville.

Br. David Bruce was now appointed to the care of the Christian Indians in Pachgatgoch and Wechquatnach, who had again formed a regular and increasing settlement. He remained in this station till his happy departure out of time, which, to the great grief of the Indian congregation, took place in 1749. He was remarkably cheerful during his illness, and his conversation edified all who saw him. Perceiving that his end approached, he called the Indian Brethren present to his bedside, and pressing their hands to his breast, besought them fervently to remain faithful

unto the end, and immediately after fell asleep in the Lord. His funeral was committed to one of the Indian assistants, who delivered a powerful discourse upon the solemn occasion to the company present, among whom were many white people. Br. Abraham Bueninger was appointed his successor, and was very diligent in instructing the children.

The Brethren Cammerhof, Nathaniel Seidel, and others went to Meniolagomekah, where a door was opened for the Gospel. The chief of this place, generally called George Rex, and his wife, were baptized in Bethlehem, and both became useful assistants in the Indian congregation. The chief's grandfather, being a hundred years of age, and quite blind, was also baptized, and soon after fell happily asleep in Jesus. From that time forward, Meniolagomekah was diligently visited by the missionaries, and many of the inhabitants receiving the Gospel a regular establishment of Christian Indians was formed, who were called upon to share in the reproach of Christ; for the enemy with much pains influenced the minds of the people against the believers, by bitter and false accusations. Yet they could not succeed; chiefly owing to the firmness of the above-mentioned chief, named Augustus in baptism, a man of sound understanding and strong in faith. He declared his mind to the following effect:—"I know both the Brethren, and their intentions well. When I hear base charges against them, I give them no credit; first choosing, by inquiry, to explore the truth. I know that Satan envies the peace my brethren enjoy, and therefore thus assaults us." The converted Indians were also soon accustomed to be called Moravians or Herrnhutters.

In May, many of the Indians of Gnadenhutten went to Bethlehem to see three Christian Greenlanders, who were returning to their native country, conducted by the missionary Matthew Stach. There were at the same time in Bethlehem a boy and a young Indian woman from Berbice in South America, so that the Brethren there had the satisfaction to see the heathen of three different nations

and languages, namely Arawacks, living in the 6th, Mahikans and Delawares, in the 41st, and Greenlanders, in the 65th degree of north latitude. In this month thirty believing Indians removed to Gnadenhutten, where it was found necessary to commence the building of a new church, the old one being too small; the Indian congregation alone consisted of 500 persons. This town now became an object of admiration to the whole country, and the increasing number of its inhabitants afforded a convincing proof of the power of the Gospel to change the hearts of men. But evil reports were not wanting; and those savages, also, who were enemies to the Gospel, endeavoured by various inventions to confound the truth. A message was sent to Gnadenhutten to this effect: "That a conjuror, who was dying at Wajomick, had disappeared in the night, and two days after returned from heaven, where God had told him that he had appointed sacrifices for the Indians to atone for their sins, but had given the Bible to the white people only; and though it contained many excellent things, yet he considered it as an abomination that the Indians should walk in the same way." He added, that "the white people were wise and cunning, and if the Indians meddled with them they would all be devoured, especially their children, whom they strove to get into their power: further, that God had commanded him to make this known to all the Indian tribes." The messenger added, "That the man who had been with God had summoned all the Indians to meet on the river Susquehannah to hear him; after which he intended to come to this town to relate the affair himself, for the words he had heard were so important to him that he could not keep them in his breast." The Indian Brethren heard this message with patience, but after assuring the messenger that his employer had not seen the true God, they preached the words of life to the deluded man with great power and demonstration of the Spirit. The impression made upon the messenger was such, that he not only published throughout the country what he had heard at Gna-

denhutten, thus frustrating the intentions of the false prophet, but turned with all his heart unto the Lord, and was baptized some time after.

A school of three classes, for children, boys, and young men, was now established at Gnadenhutten, and a master appointed for each class. Mistresses were also appointed for the classes of the girls and young women. The Indian youth being very willing to learn, it was a pleasure to their instructors to see their progress. A regulation was also made for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans, who were placed in different families, and provided, as relations, with every necessary of life.

Towards the end of the year the Indian congregation suffered a great loss by the decease of the wife of the missionary Martin Mack, who had devoted all her time and strength in the service of the Lord among the heathen. Her departure occasioned general sorrow. Among others who departed this life in 1749 was Shikellimus, in Shomokin. Being the first magistrate and head-chief of all the Iroquois Indians, living on the banks of the Susquehannah, as far as Onondago, he thought it incumbent upon him to be very circumspect in his dealings with the white people. He mistrusted the Brethren at first, but upon discovering their sincerity became their firm and real friend. He very kindly assisted them in building, and defended them against the insults of the drunken Indians, being himself never addicted to drinking, as he expressed it, he never wished to become a fool. He had built his house upon pillars for safety, in which he always shut himself up when any drunken frolic was going on in the village. In this house Bishop Johannes von Watteville and his company visited and preached the Gospel to him. It was then that the Lord opened his heart; he listened with great attention, and at last with tears, respecting the doctrine of a crucified Jesus, and received it in faith, as a message full of grace and truth. During his visit in Bethlehem a remarkable change took place in his heart which he could not conceal. He found comfort, peace, and joy, by faith in his Redeemer, and the Brethren considered

him as a candidate for baptism, but hearing that he had been already baptized by a Catholic priest in Canada, they only endeavoured to impress his mind with a proper idea of the importance of this sacramental ordinance, upon which he destroyed a small idol that he wore about his neck. After his return to Shomokin the grace of God bestowed upon him was truly manifest, and his behaviour was remarkably peaceful and contented. In this state of mind he was taken ill, and in the presence of Br. Zeisberger fell happily asleep in the Lord, in full assurance of obtaining eternal life, through the merits of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER VI.

THE most remarkable occurrence in 1750 was the journey of Bishop Cammerhof and Brother David Zeisberger to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois. An Indian of the Cajuga nation was their guide, and conducted them to Tiaogu, about 150 miles up the Susquehannah. They spent the nights on shore in huts made of the bark of trees, and gave each night's lodging a name, the first letter of which was cut into a tree by the Indians. Bishop Cammerhof had the satisfaction to find all the Indians whom he had baptized on the banks of the Susquehannah in a pleasing course. Their heathen neighbours complained that the former were entirely perverted since their baptism, not living in their usual Indian manner, nor ever joining in the diversions and customs of their countrymen; thus unintentionally giving them so good a character, that Bishop Cammerhof greatly rejoiced, and praised God for his goodness towards them.

From Tiaogu they proceeded by land, and daily met with difficulties, almost insurmountable at first appearance. On the 19th of June they reached Onondago, the chief town of the Six Nations, situated in a very pleasant and fruitful country, and consisting of five small towns or villages, through which the river Zinochsaa runs.

Bishop Cammerhot and David Zeisberger having notified their arrival to the council in the usual manner, they

were admitted and received as the deputies of the church of the United Brethren on both sides the ocean, and their message taken into consideration; the council then consisting of twenty-six elderly men of venerable appearance. The consultations upon the message lasted long, many questions were put to the Brethren, and many belts and fathoms of wampum delivered. On the 20th of July they received the following decision:—"That the Iroquois and the Brethren on both sides the great ocean should regard each other as brothers; that this covenant should be indissoluble, and that two Brethren should have leave to live either in Onondago, or some other town, to learn their language."

The Brethren praised God for the success of their application, set out immediately on their return, and having travelled about 1600 miles, arrived in Bethlehem on the 17th of August.

At this time there was a great desire among the Indians to hear the word of God; thirty or forty from Meniolagomekah, baptized and unbaptized, came to Gnadenhutten both on Sundays and festival days. In many places the Indians met to converse about God. Nothing gave them more pleasure than when a Brother preached to them the word of life.

The Brethren at Bethlehem about this time purchased a tract of ground on the north side of the Lecha, which was portioned out among the inhabitants of Gnadenhutten by drawing lots, to the satisfaction of all. Two Brethren were appointed to keep watch during the meetings of the congregation, partly on account of the danger attending the fires in the woods, which are frequent in those parts, partly to attend visitors and travellers, and to prevent disorders. In this duty all took their turn.

Among those baptized in 1750 was one Tadeuskund, called Honest John by the English; he received the name of Gideon. The missionaries also baptized another Indian, living in Meniolagomekah, called Big Jacob, who had been many years an enemy to the Gospel and its ministers, endeavouring with all his might and cunning to

retard the progress of truth. But, during a severe illness, his wretched state was revealed to him. He owned his sinful life; and his countenance, formerly savage and fierce, was changed into that of a true penitent.

In 1751, the congregations and missions in North America suffered a great loss by the decease of Bishop John Frederick Cammerhof, who had served them with great faithfulness and success: he was never intimidated by the most imminent danger, but at the risk of health and life defied all perils to gain souls for his Lord and Master Jesus Christ. The Indian congregation respected and loved him sincerely. There was so much sweetness and benevolence in his character, that even the wildest heathen held him in great esteem. This was proved by many remarkable instances. A savage Indian on the Susquehannah having been sharply reproved by Cammerhof for his wicked life, and exhorted to seek remission of sins through faith in Jesus, was so much exasperated, that he followed him into the wood, with a determination either cruelly to beat or to kill him; but he found him so mild and friendly in his behaviour, that, immediately repenting of his wicked design, he gave ear to his admonitions, and returned home with a very different disposition from that he set out with. Bishop Cammerhof had baptized 89 Indians during the four years he resided in North America.

Among the number of Indian visitors in 1751, was a Shawanose and family, who had travelled above 300 miles to become acquainted with the Brethren and their doctrine, of which he had heard various reports. Another visitor, who had formerly heard the Gospel in Gnadenhutten, but then resisted convictions, related, that soon after his return, his child was taken dangerously ill. Fearing that the poor infant would not obtain eternal life, not being baptized, he ran into the woods, and cried to God, in the anguish of his soul, that he would in mercy restore its health; promising, that he would then devote to his service both his child and himself. After giving vent to his tears, his heart was comforted, and on his return he found the child better; he therefore came now to Gnadenhutten, to request the

Brethren to take him and his family under their protection. Tears flowed while he spoke; he obtained permission to live in the place, and was baptized with his whole family.

Br. Bueninger continued to serve with much blessing the congregation at Pachgatgoch, which was about 200 miles from Bethlehem. In his leisure hours he worked in the plantation, and gave a good example, by encouraging the Indians to industry that they might not suffer famine in winter, which too often happens through neglect. By this the Indians became so attached to his gentle directions, that even when they were employed in the harvest by the white people, they begged him to attend them, that he might warn them against danger; "for," said they, "we are like sick people just recovering, and continually fearing a relapse." During the next year the number of constant hearers of the word increased so much, that it was found necessary to erect a chapel and school-house. The Indians assisted in the work with great willingness.

The congregation here consisted of more than 100 members; and the missionaries praised God especially for the unreserved manner in which the Indians owned their defects and asked advice. One of them said, "that he was in doubt, how he should behave in future, his heart being as unbroken as that of a stubborn horse." He added: "A man may have a very wild horse, but if he can only once make it eat salt out of his hand, then it will always come to him again; but I am not so disposed towards our Saviour, who is continually offering me his grace. I have once tasted grace out of his hand, yet my heart still runs away; even then, when he holds out his grace unto me. Thus we Indians are so very stupid, that we have not even the sense of beasts."

The state of the congregation in Meniolagomekah became very precarious, the white people endeavouring to drive away the Indians, insisting that they were the lawful proprietors of the land. Augustus, in the name of the baptized, who wished to withdraw from the consequences of such a dispute, declared, that they would not refuse to quit their land, though they had long possessed and planted

it. They also suffered much from famine in the course of the following year. Yet amidst these troubles the missionary, Grube, continued his labours with abundant blessing.

The return of Bishop Spangenberg to North America in 1751, was of great service to the Indian congregation. He knew it from its infancy, was esteemed as a father, and knew how to guide its members, with that patience, wisdom, and gentle restraint, best adapted to their character and circumstances. On this account his advice was a great support to the missionaries in attending to their various duties.

The visits of strange Indians were an object of continual attention, a work of God being observed in the hearts of several. Yet as lodging them in the families became not only troublesome, but the conduct of many gave offence to the young people, the council resolved to build a house purposely for the reception of strangers. Another was built and appropriated to the use of the baptized Indian visitors from Bethlehem, Meniolagomekah, Pachgatgoch, and other places. The former was called the Strangers' Inn. Towards building the latter, the Brethren in Bethlenem contributed money, and the Indians afforded their work. Each house was superintended by a housekeeper, who paid every attention to the comfort and convenience of his guests.

Some Indian assistants having visited their countrymen on the Susquehannah, and preached the Gospel to them, the head-chief of the Nantikok nation sent two deputies to the Brethren with a fathom of wampum to solicit further acquaintance. In June, 1752, Bishop Spangenberg, Zeisberger, and Seidel, went to Shomokin and Wajomick. In return for this visit, a large embassy was sent, in July, by the Nantikoks and Shawanose to Gnadenhutten, to establish a covenant with the Brethren. The deputies, with their attendants of women and children, were in all 107 persons. Their transactions were performed with due Indian solemnity.

Many of them afterwards visited Bethlehem, where they stayed several days, and made a solemn covenant with the

Brethren, attended with the same ceremonies as in Gnadenhutten. Bishop Spangenberg preached to them, and they were present at two baptisms, during which they appeared much affected. The regularity and cheerfulness of the congregation at Bethlehem seemed to leave a deep impression upon their minds. One of the oldest chiefs declared his thoughts concerning himself and his people as follows: "Brethren, we are altogether buried in sin; have patience with us, in the course of a year or two a change may take place. We are like colts in training. Your words please us much. We feel something in our hearts, and though we do not comprehend it all, we shall understand it by degrees, but our motions are slow."

Having informed them of the covenant made between the Brethren and the Iroquois, renewed last year by Br. Cammerhof, and shown them the strings and belts of wampum ratifying the same, they were desired to consider of the best means of cultivating an acquaintance, and of preaching the Gospel to them, to which they promised to return an answer in three months. Then the Brethren, Sisters, and children gave them some useful presents, and all was concluded by a speech from the oldest chief, expressing their gratitude, and confirmed by shouts of applause.

Notice was immediately sent to the government in Philadelphia of this embassy; to prevent, if possible, calumnious reports against the loyalty of the Brethren; for they had already been falsely accused of persuading the Indians to join the French.

Two deputies were likewise sent to the great council of the Mahikan nation at Westenhuck, to acquaint them with the embassy of the Nantikoks and Shawanose, with which they appeared much pleased; and as a proof of their satisfaction, made Abraham, an assistant at Gnadenhutten, a captain.

The visits of the Indians were often productive of more harm than good to the inhabitants of Gnadenhutten. Not only the people at large became fond of forming alliances with other nations, but several Indian Brethren, who were

not as yet well established and rooted in Jesus Christ, began to think again of their heathenish customs, and a few forsook the congregation, and brought themselves into distress of mind and body. The missionaries felt the most pungent grief on these occasions; they were however comforted in some measure, by observing, that none of those who thus left the congregation, were enemies to it, but valued the Gospel, the power of which they had felt, retaining a sincere love for the Brethren; for though they strayed for a time, the Lord bore them with patience; many were reclaimed, and departed this life as ransomed sinners.

The joy and confidence with which the Indians met their dissolution, proved that they had lived by faith in the Son of God, and were animated with the assurance of everlasting life. Thus Gottlieb, the first-fruit of the Delaware nation, before he expired, said to Br. Mack: "I shall soon depart to my Saviour; this makes me rejoice, because I know that I shall go to him as a poor but pardoned sinner." He was so moved at uttering these words, that his tears prevented him adding more, and soon after he fell asleep in Jesus.

The unbaptized showed more faith in Jesus Christ, in their dying moments, than was expected. A mother who wept bitterly over her unbaptized son, living on the Susquehannah, out of the reach of any missionary, and at that time sick unto death, was comforted by his own declarations. "Dear mother (he said), I am very ill, and shall probably die, but do not weep so much; I shall not be lost; for I am assured, that Jesus our Saviour, the God whom the Brethren preach, and who was wounded for me also, will receive me;" and in this firm hope he died rejoicing.

In July, 1752, the Brn. Zeisberger and Gottfried Rundt, accompanied by Martin Mack, set out for Onondago. Shortly before they reached that town they were met by twenty Chiefs of the Oneida tribe, who opposed their proceeding on their journey. The Brethren did not suffer themselves to be so easily repulsed, and relying on the help of the Lord, desired that a council might be held on the

following day, to consider their business. This being granted, Zeisberger addressed them so powerfully that they changed their minds, and granted them full liberty to proceed. The Brethren arrived the same evening at Onondago, and were lodged in the house of one of the chiefs. They soon made their arrival known to the great council, giving an account of the death of Bishop Cammerhof, and renewing their covenant made with the Iroquois two years ago, begging likewise that the Brn. David Zeisberger and Gottfried Rundt might be permitted to reside among them, and to learn their language. The council returned an answer the same day, that these Brethren should have liberty to dwell among them and to learn their language; they also expressed their sorrow at the death of so worthy a man as Cammerhof, "who loved the Indians so much, and had proved himself among them as an upright man, without guile." Br. Mack having returned to Bethlehem, the Brethren began to preach to the Indians the words of life. They earned their bread by surgical operations, chiefly by bleeding, and by the labour of their hands. When the Indians got drunk and troublesome, they retired into the woods till the frolic was over.

From Onondago they made a journey into the country of the Tuscaroras and Cajugas. In the latter, they found great opposition from the white people, and were so much abused by a rum-trader, that the Indians were obliged to interfere and deliver them from his hands by force. Upon their return to Onondago, they found the men in readiness to set out on their winter hunt, and thus as none but the women would be at home, they resolved to return to Bethlehem for some time, and arrived there in December.

April the 22d, Br. Zeisberger returned to Onondago with Br. Henry Frey. Both were treated with the same esteem as before, and with the greatest hospitality, as long as the Indians themselves had any thing to eat. However, the war between the English and French gave the Brethren much uneasiness, and the great council intimated that they would do well to leave the place. They attempted to preach the Gospel in the adjacent parts, but

were much weakened by various diseases, suffering famine with the inhabitants. After half a year's absence they returned to Bethlehem.

The Brn. Mack and Grube visited Shomokin and several places on the Susquehannah, endeavouring to reclaim the straying sheep, and to awaken the heathen from the sleep of sin. With this view, Grube made a journey into several neighbouring places, and was graciously preserved amidst many surrounding dangers. In one place, several ill-designing Shawanose and Delawares came to his Indian host, and unknown to him, demanded his life, alleging, "that he was a wicked man and a seducer." His host answered: "You mistake your man, I have never seen any thing amiss in him; he is in my house, and I will defend him there, nor shall any man on earth dare to injure him." The day after, he accompanied Br. Grube part of the way to Shomokin, but did not tell him in what danger he had been. Some time after, he believed the Gospel, turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, and then related this circumstance.

Br. Christian Froelich was meanwhile engaged in visiting the negroes in several parts of the Jerseys, by whom he was well received. He preached the Gospel to above a hundred of them, and likewise visited them in their plantations.

CHAPTER VII.

The course of the Indian congregation had hitherto been, in general, pleasing and unmolested, notwithstanding its various defects and vicissitudes; but now troubles began, both of the most unpleasant kind, and grievous in their consequences. They chiefly originated in a proposal to transplant the congregation from Gnadenhutten to Wajomick, which was made by an embassy of Nantikoks and Shawanose, in the name of the Iroquois.* The Brethren

* It was afterwards discovered that only the Oneida tribe of the Iroquois had formed this plan, with the warlike Delawares and Mahikans. Several gentlemen of Philadelphia had likewise joined them in

in Bethlehem had long wished, that the converted Indians might withdraw into that country, and make a settlement. But it gradually became evident, that the savages were secretly determined to join the French, and commence hostilities against the English. They first wished to furnish a safe retreat for their countrymen, the Indians of Gnadenhutten, that they might the more easily fall upon the white people in those parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikoks from Wajomick into their neighbourhood, to make room for the Christian Indians. They supposed this step would not be disagreeable to the Brethren at Bethlehem, the believing Indians at Shekomeko having nine years ago obtained leave from the great council at Onondago, by means of a treaty with Bishop Spangenberg, to move to Wajomick. Thus their plot appeared upon the whole well contrived, and the pressing invitation sent to the converted Indians to go to Wajomick, was part of the scheme.

The Brethren at Bethlehem had no reason to rejoice at the offer, nor could the missionaries encourage the Indians to accept of it; yet they ventured not to dissuade them, lest it should be again reported, that they made slaves of their Indians, and deprived them of that free exercise of their judgment, upon which the savages pride themselves so much. They therefore never interfered in the consultations of the inhabitants of Gnadenhutten on this subject. The latter were averse to quit their pleasant settlement, more especially after they discovered the true motives of the Iroquois, justly fearing, that they would at last be deprived of their teachers, and even of all intercourse with the Brethren. Several, however, got the better of their scruples; and on the 24th of April, 1754, sixty-five persons, and shortly after five more, removed from Gnadenhutten to Wajomick without a missionary. Most of them burst into tears at taking leave, promising, that they would cleave unto the Lord Jesus, and remain

endeavouring to remove the Christian Indians to Wajomick, hoping thereby to prevent the people of New England from taking possession of that place, to which they themselves laid claim.

faithful. Fifteen more repaired to Neskopeko without any invitation. To see these people depart, filled the missionaries with the most pungent grief. They could only comfort themselves with considering, that though the enemy designs mischief, God has all things in his power, and can bring good out of evil.

Gnadenhutten had scarcely suffered this great loss of inhabitants, when it was partly supplied from another quarter. The new proprietor of Meniolagomekah declared that the Indians should quit that place. The believing Indians applied immediately to the Brethren, who sent them a cordial invitation, by the missionary Martin Mack, to remove to Gnadenhutten; and before the end of April, the whole congregation, consisting of forty-nine persons, moved to that place.

Soon after, it became necessary for the inhabitants of Gnadenhutten to remove to the north side of the river Lecha, the land on the Mahony being too much impoverished, and other circumstances requiring a change of situation. Jacob, an assistant, expressed himself concerning the future course of the congregation, thus: "When the snakes come forth out of the ground in spring, they have still their old winter coat on; but by creeping through a narrow hole, they rid themselves of the old skin, and appear as new-born. Thus I wish, that we may leave every thing by which we have displeased the Lord in the old place, and bring nothing into the new, that is not well-pleasing to him."

The foundation-stone of a chapel was laid at New Gnadenhutten on the 11th of June, which was consecrated in August by Bishop Spangenberg; at the same time a synod was held, chiefly for the purpose of considering the situation of the Indian Mission. The dwellings at New Gnadenhutten were placed in such order, that the Mahikans lived on one side, and the Delawares on the other. The Brethren at Bethlehem took the culture of the old land on the Mahony upon themselves, made a plantation of it for the use of the Indian congregation, and converted the old chapel into a dwelling, both for the use of those

Brethren and Sisters who had the care of the plantations, and for missionaries passing on their visits to the heathen.

Towards the end of June, the missionary Mack feeling a strong impulse to visit the emigrants at Wajomick, set out for that place with Br. Gottfried Roesler. The rivers were much overflowed; but no difficulties or perils could deter him from proceeding. God graciously regarded his faith, and saved him out of many dangers, in a manner almost miraculous. He was greatly comforted, when he found that the Indian Brethren had not departed from the Lord, but that even some, whose conduct at Gnadenhutten had not been the most pleasing, had turned to Him with their whole heart. The missionary found all the people living on the Susquehannah in great fear and dread, both of the inroads made in the country by the Catawbas, then at war with the Six Nations, and of the French, who threatened the Indians with fire and sword, unless they acted in concert with them against the English. Besides this, the people of New England, who laid claim to Wajomick, were advancing, and intended to seize the land by force.

Soon after Br. Mack's return, the Brn. Grube and Rundt visited Wajomick and Neskopeko; in both places their discourses were so well received by the Indians, that they desired the interpreter to repeat them. The Brethren were always sorry to be obliged to preach to the heathen by an interpreter, and therefore sent two students, Fabricius and Wedstaedt, to Gnadenhutten, the former to learn the Delaware, and the latter the Shawanose language. Fabricius made a quick progress, and was soon able to translate several parts of the Scriptures into the Delaware language: Br. Grube did the same, and kept a singing-school for the boys and young brethren, by which he himself greatly improved in the language, for the Indians always corrected him if he made any fault. His scholars learnt the hymns and tunes with great ease, and one of them brought him a hymn composed by himself. Br. Schmick likewise had made so quick a progress in the Mahikan dialect, that he preached fluently, translated the

history of our Saviour's sufferings, composed some hymns, and now and then translated short accounts of the Missions among the Greenlanders and Negroes, which were read to the Indian congregation.

In this year (1754) Br. David Zeisberger returned to Onondago with Br. Charles Frederic, and resided there nearly a year. The great council assembled in the house in which these Brethren lodged; and a council held soon after their arrival deserves particular notice. They had in consideration a message sent by the Nantikoks, desiring the Iroquois seriously to weigh the cause, why the Indians so remarkably diminished in number, adding, that in their opinion, it proceeded merely from drunkenness; that they should therefore resolve to drink no rum for the space of four years only, and it would then appear that they would increase; that then also they would not be so often ill, nor die so early; for all this was owing to their drinking rum. They said, that drunkenness was also the reason that the Indians did not plant at the proper season, and thus suffered so much by famine. This was more earnestly enforced by a painting on wood, representing that God sees those who get drunk, and how the devil would hereafter torment all who are addicted to this vice on earth.

Though this remonstrance was made with great earnestness, yet the members of the great council themselves could not resolve to attend to it, but continued to drink as usual, which at length proved so troublesome to the Brethren, that they begged and obtained leave to build a small house for their private use. This dwelling, though very small, was the neatest in Onondago, and proved such a retirement, that they resolved to stay there during the winter. They earned their livelihood by cutting timber, grinding hatchets, and chiefly building houses for others; yet they frequently suffered want, and were obliged to hunt or seek roots in the forest. The Indians would sometimes express their astonishment at their submitting to live in poverty, merely out of love to them; and their choosing to suffer hunger, when they might have plenty in their own country. But the Brethren thought them-

selves sufficiently rewarded, when now and then they could enter into a familiar conversation with the Indians, and describe to them the love of God, the Saviour of all men.

In New Gnadenhutten, the missionaries had much reason to rejoice at the internal course of their congregation. The death of a brother called Jephtha, above 100 years old, was truly edifying: he sent for all his children, and taking an affectionate leave of them, made them promise, that they would faithfully adhere to Christ and to his congregation, and never suffer themselves to be seduced by the world. He then expressed his desire to depart and to be with Christ, and soon after fell asleep. He had been an Indian of great rank, and the lawful possessor of a large tract of land in the district of New York, but was expelled by the white people.

The external troubles of Gnadenhutten still continued. The inhabitants were not only charged with a kind of tribute, to show their dependence upon the Iroquois, but received the following very singular message, in 1755, brought by Paxnous,* the old chief of the Shawanose, and Gideon Tadeuskund, who had proved unfaithful to their cause: "The great head, that is, the council of the Iroquois in Onondago, speak the truth, and lie not: they rejoice that some of the believing Indians have moved to Wajomick, but now they lift up the remaining Mahikans and Delawares, and set them down also in Wajomick; for there a fire is kindled for them, and there they may plant and think on God: but if they will not hear, the great head, or council, will come and clean their ears with a red-hot iron:" that is, set their houses on fire, and send musket-balls through their heads. Paxnous then turned to the missionaries, earnestly demanding of them, not to hinder the Indians from removing to Wajomick; for that the road was free, therefore they might visit their friends there, stay with them till they were tired, and then return

* The wife of this chief diligently attended the preaching of the Gospel while at Gnadenhutten, and was baptized at her earnest request by Bishop Spangenberg.

to their own country. These last words occasioned much reflection and uneasiness in the minds of the believing Indians, as they supposed them to be a sure token that the Iroquois only pretended to favour them, but in truth had evil designs against their peace. They gave no answer, but said, that they should consult their great council in Bethlehem, concerning the contents of this message.

In consequence of this, the elders of Bethlehem sent a deputation to Gnadenhutten, to remind the Indians of the great grace they had received from God; to point out to them the true signs of an hour of temptation; and to represent the imminent danger of giving ear to seducers. They further observed, that the Brethren did not prohibit any one from leaving Gnadenhutten, but would only guard them against all hurt to their souls, and thus, on some future day, be able to prove to them, that in warning them, they had discharged their duty. This declaration of the Brethren produced the desired effect in most of the Indians. Several who had not only deviated, but endeavoured to draw others aside, publicly and of their own accord owned their transgressions, begging forgiveness of the rest; which was granted with joy. The grace of God was perhaps never more evident, than in seeing an Indian, naturally obstinate and inflexible to the last degree, appear before a whole body of people as an humbled sinner, confess his faults, and ask pardon of God and of those whom he had offended.

Not long after, another message was sent from Wajomick to Gnadenhutten, commanding the baptized in a severe tone, and for the last time, to go to Wajomick. To this they answered undauntedly, "No one has persuaded us to live at Gnadenhutten; it is our free choice, and therefore here we will stay; where we may both hear the words of our Saviour, and live in rest and peace." An Indian brother said, "What can the head-captain of the Six Nations give me in exchange for my soul? He never considers how that will fare at last." Another said, "God, who made and saved me, can protect me, if he please. I am not afraid of the anger of men; for not one hair of my

head can fall to the ground, without his will." A third expressed himself thus: "If even any one should lift up his hatchet against me and say, Depart from the Lord and the Brethren; I would not do it." Thus most of them declared their reliance upon God, and remained firm.

In 1755, Christian Seidel and Henry Frey visited Wajomick and Neskopeko. In returning from the latter place they were graciously preserved from imminent danger. Some Indians, who were averse to the preaching of the Gospel, lay in ambush in the wood, intending to tomahawk or shoot them, but providentially missing the direct road, the Brethren escaped.

Christian Seidel went twice afterwards to Pachgatgoch, where he rejoiced greatly over the small church of God in that place, which truly deserved the character given it by an Indian brother: "Methinks," said he, "we are a small seed sown in the ground, where it first lies dormant, but gradually springs up, gets into ear and ripens. Our Saviour has planted such a small seed in this place: it has sprung up, the plant is now nursed, and I wish that we may all ripen and bear fruit."

But the neighbourhood being in great dread of the French, the young people were called upon to serve against them. Some of the baptized suffered themselves to be persuaded to take the field, and repented, when it was too late.

In June and July, Seidel and Zeisberger, who had returned from Onondago, went again to Wajomick and other places on the Susquehannah. They were soon followed by Martin Mack and an Indian assistant from Gnadenhutten, who preached the Gospel in all places with great power in the Mahikan language. During one of his discourses, he observed a strange Indian listening with great attention, who had travelled 300 miles from the northwest country, and related the occasion of his journey as follows, viz.: His eldest brother, living in his house, had been many days and nights in great perplexity, wishing to learn to know God, till at length he resolved to retire into the woods, supposing that he should succeed better in a

state of separation from all mankind. Having spent many weeks alone in great affliction, he thought he saw a man of majestic appearance, who informed him, that there were Indians living to the south-east, who were acquainted with God and the way to everlasting life; adding, that he should go home again and tell the people what he had seen and heard. "This," said the Indian, "is the reason why I am come hither. When I heard my brother speak, I felt immediately a desire to go in search of the people he described. Now I have heard your discourse, and your words have been welcome to my heart." He then set out on his return, rejoicing to be able to make known this discovery to his countrymen.

At this time all was peace: but suddenly a cruel Indian war broke out, occasioned by the contest between the English and French, and spread terror and confusion, especially through Pennsylvania.

The first outrage was committed about five miles from Shomokin; where the French Indians fell upon six English plantations, plundered and set fire to the dwellings, and murdered fourteen white people. Br. Kiefer, residing in Shomokin, was exposed to the most imminent danger: but when the chief Paxnous heard of it, he immediately sent his two sons with instructions to rescue him, even if he should be in the hands of the enemy. They met Kiefer on the road, and conducted him in safety to Gnadenhutten.

The whole country was now in an uproar, and the people knew not what course to take. The neighbours of the Brethren in Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten forsook their dwellings, fearing a sudden invasion of the French Indians. But the Brethren made a covenant together, to remain undaunted in the place allotted to them by Providence. The peace of God comforted them in a special manner, and preserved their hearts from fear and despair.

However, no caution was omitted; and because the white people considered every Indian as an enemy, the Indian Brethren in Gnadenhutten were advised, as much as possible, to keep out of their way; to buy no powder or

shot, but to strive to maintain themselves without hunting, which they very willingly complied with.

But on a sudden the mission-house on the Mahony, about half a mile distant from Gnadenhutten, and separated from it by the river Lecha, (see page 122) was, late in the evening of the 24th of November, 1755, attacked by the French Indians, and eleven of the inhabitants murdered. The family were at supper; and on the report of a gun, several ran together to open the house-door; the Indians instantly fired and killed Martin Nitschman. His wife and some others were wounded, but fled with the rest to the garret, and barricadoed the door. Two escaped by leaping out of a back-window. The savages pursued those who had taken refuge in the garret, but finding the door too well secured, they set fire to the house, which was soon in flames. A boy and a woman leaped from the burning roof, and escaped almost miraculously. Br. Fabricus then leaped off the roof, but he was perceived by the Indians, and wounded with two balls; they dispatched him with their hatchets, and took his scalp. The rest were all burnt alive, except Br. Senseman, who got out at the back-door. The house being consumed, the murderers set fire to the barns and stables, by which all the corn, hay, and cattle were destroyed.

This melancholy event proved the deliverance of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhutten: for upon hearing the report of the guns, seeing the flames, and learning the dreadful cause from those who had escaped, they all fled into the woods. Br. Zeisberger, who had just arrived in Gnadenhutten from Bethlehem,* hastened back with the

* Zeisberger had a very narrow escape on this occasion. He was charged with letters both to Gnadenhutten and the Mahony, which were to have been delivered that same evening. It was late when he arrived at the former place, and he was advised not to proceed. He would not, however, be persuaded from executing his commission, and, mounting his horse, rode off. He had crossed the ford, and reached the opposite bank of the river, when he heard the report of the muskets and saw the flames from the burning mission-house. He used to express his gratitude for this remarkable providence with much feeling, adding, "Had I arrived but a little sooner or later with the Brethren

melancholy account; and at five in the morning it was made known to the assembled congregation.* The grief, occasioned by these doleful tidings, may be better conceived than described; yet a perfect resignation to the will of the Lord prevailed in the whole congregation. He has not promised unto his followers, an exemption from the troubles and calamities of this world, but requires of them, by patiently suffering their share of the general distress, to demean themselves as true children of God. The missionaries collected together most of the fugitive Indians, and brought them to Bethlehem, where they were treated with the greatest kindness. Such as were still missing, fled to Wajomick, which place they reached in safety.

The Brethren traced the providence of God in this disastrous event, who, permitting this evil to take place, had graciously averted a much greater. Just about that time, nothing less was intended, than to destroy their whole establishment in North America. A bitter enemy of the Gospel had forged a letter, pretending that it had been written by a French officer in Quebec, and intercepted by the English, which stated, "That the French were certain of soon conquering the English, for not only the Indians had taken their part, but the Brethren were also their good friends, and would give them every assistance in their power." The suspicion raised by this lying accusation was increased by the calm and steady behaviour of the Brethren. The common people were exceedingly enraged, and the Brethren were under continual apprehension of being attacked by the mob: nor could Government have defended them, though well convinced of the sincerity of their intentions. Travellers were not safe in the streets and inns. Bishop Spangenberg was insulted by an innkeeper, who with one hand lifting up a large stake and

on the Mahony, I should have run right into the snares of the enemy. But that was not the will of my Saviour, who intended me to serve him longer."

* The light of the burning buildings, although nearly 30 miles distant from Bethlehem, and with the ridge of the Blue mountains between, was plainly seen.

threatening to knock his brains out, held in the other the newspaper containing the above-mentioned letter. Bishop Spangenberg endeavoured to pacify him, but his answer was: "If what I say of the Brethren were not true, it would not be printed here." In the Jerseys a public declaration was made with beat of drum, that Bethlehem should be destroyed; and a party of a hundred men who came to that place, were purposely sent to seek an opportunity of raising a mob; but the friendly and hospitable treatment they met with from the Brethren, who knew nothing of their intentions, changed their resolution. The suspicion against them, however, gained daily more ground, and every body considered them as friends to the French.

But after the attack made upon the Brethren on the Mahony became publicly known, the eyes of the people were opened. Even before the remains of the murdered persons were interred, many hundred people came from distant parts, and, seeing the settlement in ashes, and the corpses of the Brethren and Sisters burnt and scalped, were fully convinced of the falsehood of the reports against them. Many shed tears, and exclaimed: "Alas, how greatly have we sinned against an innocent people, accusing them of being in league with the Indians and French." One said; "Ah, what should we have had to answer for, had we followed our design of exterminating the Brethren, and destroying men, women, and children, upon the supposition that they were our enemies." Thus the designs of their adversaries to burn their dwellings, and deliver them over to the fury of an enraged mob were entirely defeated.

As both the Indians and the missionaries had left their effects and harvest in Gnadenhutten, the governor ordered a party of soldiers to march into those parts to defend the property of the Christian Indians and the country in general. But on New Year's Day, 1756, the savages attacked these troops,* set fire to Gnadenhutten and the mill, and

* The soldiers had been amusing themselves with skating, when, at some distance higher up, where the river made a bend, they espied two Indians; believing these already in their power, the soldiers pursued

destroyed all the plantations; by which the Indian congregation and its missionaries were reduced to the greatest poverty.

The situation of the Brethren in Bethlehem became now very critical. The savages insisted upon the Indians residing in the place taking up arms against the English, threatening to murder them in case of refusal; and a set of fanatics among the white people demanded their total extirpation, deeming them to be accursed, like the Canaanites of old. The inhabitants of Bethlehem, therefore, considered themselves as sheep ready for slaughter; and when they went to bed, never knew whether they should rise the next morning. Yet resignation to the will of the Lord was the general disposition of all the inhabitants; not one sought safety by leaving the town, but the chief concern of each individual was to be prepared and willing at every moment to appear before the presence of God, and to enter into eternal rest. They were led the more firmly to unite in praying unto God in the words of Hezekiah,—"O Lord our God, we beseech thee, save thou us, that all may know that thou art the Lord, even thou only,"—not only from the common boastings of the Indians, "We shall soon see whether the God of the Brethren be able to deliver them from our hatchets,"—but likewise from the ridicule of a white neighbour, who had said, "The Brethren are continually speaking of the Saviour, and praying to him; now we shall see whether He can save them." He did save them, and filled their hearts with joy, peace, and cheerfulness, proceeding from a firm reliance upon his protection.

The courage of the Brethren in keeping their station proved a comfort and protection to their neighbours; for if they had fled, nothing could have obstructed the inroads of the savages. The whole country from Bethlehem to Philadelphia would have been exposed to their ravages, and even Philadelphia itself have been rendered unsafe; so that government considered the Brethren's settlements as a

them; but, on a sudden, a party that lay in ambush rushed from their hiding-place, and put them all to death.

bulwark, raised up in defence of the neighbouring country. It afterwards appeared, that the Indians frequently remarked in their councils, that if they could only put the Brethren to flight, every thing else must yield to them. They therefore formed various plans to attack their settlements with their combined force. Though the Brethren firmly relied upon the help of the Lord, they neglected nothing that might tend to their safety. Bethlehem was surrounded by palisadoes, and well guarded both night and day, Europeans and Indians taking their turns with great willingness. In every other settlement of the Brethren in North America, a strict watch was kept. Even those at work in the plantations were guarded. This was chiefly committed to Indian Brethren, who esteemed it a favour to be thought worthy of such an important charge.

This watchfulness was not only a necessary caution, but proved very effectual in defending the place, for the savages plundered and burnt several villages so near to Bethlehem, that the flames were distinctly seen; and they approached even to the place itself, endeavouring to shoot burning wadding upon the thatched roofs. They attempted five or six times in the night to make a sudden attack upon this and some other settlements of the Brethren, but when their spies, who always precede, observed the watchmen continually going their rounds, and heard, at regular intervals, their voices uniting in songs of praise, they were afraid and withdrew, as they themselves afterwards owned.

Once in the day-time, a party of them intended to seize and carry off about forty sisters, who were picking flax in a field. They were already close to it, creeping upon their bellies in the Indian manner; but just as they were rising from their ambush, perceiving a strong guard of Indian Brethren with their pieces loaded, they made off, and thus an engagement was avoided, for which the Brethren were very thankful; for though they were unwilling to shed the blood of their enemies, yet they were resolved to defend the women and children entrusted to their care, and consequently must have fired upon and killed many of the as-

sailants, which would have caused them inexpressible grief.

God raised also some friends among the savages, who prevented much mischief. On one occasion a large party set out, with a view to murder all the Brethren and to burn their settlements, but Paxnous, the above-mentioned chief of the Shawanose, a man of great authority among his people, sent an express order for their immediate return; adding, that he positively knew that those people, whom they intended to destroy, were good men. Sometimes well-disposed Indians, hearing of a plot laid against them by the warriors, would travel all night to warn the Brethren, and thus their schemes were defeated.

Both the firmness of the Brethren and their good political regulations, caused their distressed neighbours in great numbers to take refuge in their settlements. Hundreds of women and children came even from distant places to them. Some Brethren were once going with three waggons to fetch corn from a mill beyond the Blue Mountains, when they were met by a great number of the inhabitants of that country, who were in the greatest distress and consternation, the savages having murdered many white people, and set fire to their dwellings. The waggons therefore returned, loaded with these wretched people, many of them having escaped from the enemy almost without any covering. As long as there was room, these poor fugitives were protected and fed.

Thus God in his wisdom wrought an extraordinary change of affairs. The same people—who were but lately suspected of a secret correspondence with the enemy, and of affecting confidence in God from treacherous motives—now protected and defended those who had calumniated and threatened them with destruction.

It may easily be conceived that the Brethren were brought into great straits by the number of people resorting to them for subsistence. There had been a great drought during the summer, and they reaped but half the usual quantity of corn and fruit; and besides the loss sus-

tained by the destruction of Gnadenhutten, the mill, and the Mahony farm, the savages had set fire to upwards of a thousand bushels of wheat, belonging to the Brethren in different places.

They, however, did not lose their courage, but exerted themselves with all frugality to procure the necessaries of life for their guests and themselves, relying upon the support of our heavenly Father in this extraordinary emergency, and upon the active benevolence of the European congregations. Nor were their prayers in vain, or their hopes disappointed.

The Indians during this period attended the meetings of the Bethlehem congregation, and both old and young increased in the knowledge and grace of Jesus Christ. One circumstance, however, proved very distressing to them; they could not venture to hunt, the English having promised a reward of 150 pieces of eight for every living Delaware, and 130 for every scalp. An exception was indeed made in favour of the Indians at Bethlehem; but at any distance from the town they would have been taken for enemies, and shot by the white people, who were greatly enraged at the Indians in general. Part of the Indian Brethren, therefore, earned their livelihood by doing all kind of work as day-labourers; and during the harvest in the year 1756 they guarded the reapers. The Indian Sisters made baskets and brooms. Yet this was not sufficient to procure a maintenance, and they were relieved by collections made for that purpose in other congregations of the Brethren.

Meanwhile the governor of Pennsylvania sent an embassy to the Delawares, and another to the Indians on the Susquehannah, inviting them to meet at a treaty of peace. At his Excellency's particular request, one of the Indian Brethren from Bethlehem accompanied the latter. The confidence placed in the Brethren was now so great, that both the English and the Indians twice attempted to hold the congress at Bethlehem. But Bishop Spangenberg having earnestly remonstrated against it, the congress was appointed to be held at Easton, the Indians being safely

conducted to that place. On their journey, the captain of those savages who had attacked and burnt the mission-house on the Mahony, was killed by Tadeuskund* in a violent dispute. No final agreement, however, was made at Easton; the Indians received presents from the English, and promised to return at a fixed period.

After this congress, Bethlehem had a great number of Indian visitors, who were lodged in some houses belonging to the Brethren on the other side of the Lecha. Among them were some of the incendiaries, with their families, who had been driven thither by hunger and distress. They received their daily portion of provisions from Bethlehem, and the Brethren thanked God for this opportunity of doing good to their enemies.

Though both the magistrates and the Brethren showed great kindness to the Indians, yet the savages continued to commit murders in various parts of the country; which increased the danger of the Indian congregation, for many of the white people even now suspected their peaceable disposition. But God in mercy saved them, and gave them favour in the eyes of the chief magistrates. The governor himself came to Bethlehem on the 17th of November, visited them in their dwellings, and behaved in a very kind and condescending manner.

Towards the close of the year the small-pox broke out among the Indians; and it was so regulated that all those who were infected should retire beyond the Lecha, where all possible care was taken of them.

Wajomick was entirely forsaken by the Indians in 1756, and they settled in or near Tiaogu. Many of them having been baptized by the Brethren, refused to be concerned in the war, but nevertheless suffered great harm in their souls during the late troubles. They were likewise in imminent danger of their lives. Their declaration, that they belonged to the Brethren, and would not fight, enraged the savages, who threatened to tomahawk every one

* The chief who had been baptized by the Brethren and called Gideon; he was also called "the trumpet of war," and behaved as if he were king of the Indians.

of them; and the white people, desirous of obtaining the high reward set upon Delaware scalps, watched every opportunity to kill them, so that they durst not venture out. Added to this, they suffered much from famine and cold, not being able to procure any clothing.

In January, 1757, public service began to be performed in Bethlehem in the Indian language, the litany being translated into the Mahikan dialect by the missionary Jacob Schmick. Several parts of the Scriptures and many hymns were also translated into the Delaware language for the use both of the church and the schools.

Tadeuskund and other warriors came frequently to Bethlehem, attempting to persuade the Indian congregation to go to Wajomick; but finding neither persuasions nor threats of any avail, they, with great assurance, represented at a congress of peace held at Lancaster in April, that their friends were kept prisoners in Bethlehem, and not even permitted to hunt, begging that they might be sent to Wajomick. The magistrates replied, that the Indians were a free people, and might go wherever they pleased. Upon this the Christian Indians were convened, and unanimously declared, that, as they would not live after the vain traditions received from their forefathers, but after the will and commandments of Jesus Christ, they therefore must necessarily live separated from the other Indians, amongst whom they and their children would suffer inevitable damage in their souls, as they had already experienced. They also petitioned the governor for leave to build a town in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. To this a favourable answer was returned; and a tract of land was given them about a mile from Bethlehem, where they built a regular settlement, and called it *Nain*.

Meanwhile some Delaware families moved to Gnadenthal, a place belonging to the Brethren; and the missionary Grube and his wife went to live with them.

June 10th, the first house was built at Nain, but the troubles of the war greatly retarded the progress of the other buildings. The internal course of the Indian congregations both in Bethlehem and Pachgatgoch was edify-

ing. Many hundred savages heard the Gospel in both places, and several who believed were baptized. Among the latter were two accomplices in the Mahony murder.

Towards the close of the year 1757 it seemed that peace would be established in these parts. But on the Susquehannah the troubles increased, the French endeavouring to entice the Indians to withdraw to the Ohio, where they might join the Iroquois against the English; and Paxnous and some of the baptized were drawn into the snare, and though not engaged in the war, were brought into spiritual and temporal misery, to the great grief of the Indian congregation. But in the following year many instances occurred of the mercy of that good and faithful Shepherd, who seeketh his lost sheep in the wilderness. Others, who had stood firm in the greatest dangers, suffered themselves to be led astray by sordid considerations, exchanging peace of mind for uneasiness and trouble. This was the case with Augustus, one of the assistants, whom his brother-in-law, Tadeuskund, found means to seduce and turn from the simplicity which is in Christ Jesus, by representing to him that in Wajomick he would be a man of much greater respectability than in Bethlehem.

The Indian deputies from ten tribes met again at Easton, and made peace with the government; but a general peace at Philadelphia with all the nations being in agitation, those Indians likewise, who had moved from the Susquehannah to the Ohio, were invited to join in the treaty. As government could find no European who, at the risk of his life, would undertake to deliver this message, Br. Frederick Post, then in Bethlehem, who had fled from the rage of the savages in Wajomick, was prevailed upon to perform the journey. He went twice to the Ohio, and was successful in persuading the Indians to send deputies to the treaty.* July 1st, he arrived with them in Bethlehem, and thence proceeded to Philadelphia with three Indian Brethren, who were called by government.

* An account of these remarkable and perilous journies was published in England, in 1759, under the title of "Christian Frederick Post's Journal from Philadelphia to the Ohio," &c.

Meanwhile Augustus and Tadeuskund endeavoured to persuade the congregation, that all Indians, living among the white people, would be obliged to remove to Wajomick, especially those residing at Bethlehem. Though not a word passed upon this subject during the whole treaty at Philadelphia, yet the Indian Brethren became perplexed, Augustus always mentioning government as his authority. The Brethren, moreover, received authentic information, that several enemies to the conversion of the heathen were using every effort in their power to disperse the Indian congregations at Bethlehem and Pachgatgoch. With a view, therefore, to silence the adversaries, the Brethren declared publicly and repeatedly, that if any Indian wished to leave Bethlehem, he should have perfect liberty to depart; and if any one behaved improperly, he would even be desired to go away, contrary to his inclination. But the Indians declared, that they would never leave the place, their hearts revolting at the idea of being separated from their brethren.

Amidst all these troubles, the building of Nain had made such progress, that the Indians could remove thither in autumn. October 18th, their chapel was consecrated, to the great joy of the believing Indians. The public and private worship was attended with peculiar blessing, and the Brethren at Bethlehem frequently assisted the missionaries. Those appointed to preserve order, were diligent in the performance of their duty, and great attention was paid to the schools. In general, the education of youth was particularly attended to in this period, and the parents were often exhorted to encourage it. The Indian assistants were also of great use to the missionaries, by their timely and unreserved remarks, made upon proper occasions. Joshua, happening to be present, when some mothers were correcting their children, in a fit of passion, on account of their levity and disobedience, gave them a severe reprimand, adding: "My dear Sisters! I perceive, that you have a very wrong idea of the behaviour of your children. Children of God ought not to behave thus. Whence proceeds their levity and disobedience? From you; there-

fore you ought first to be ashamed, and to beg the Lord's pardon, praying for grace, to give your children a better example: if you become more earnest and diligent in your prayers to him in their behalf, you will do more good than by this harshness; for they are as yet tender sprigs, and you must study the true method of rearing them." The mothers humbly thanked him for his advice, nor was it given in vain.

Nain had now as many Indian visitors as Bethlehem. The missionaries had once an opportunity of conversing with twenty strange Indians, baptized by Romish priests; telling them, that a true and living faith in Jesus Christ is the only way to happiness, and that they would grossly deceive themselves, if they continued in sin, and rested their hope upon the mere form of baptism.

About this time, most of the baptized who moved to Wajomick in 1754, or fled to the Susquehanna after the attack of the savages upon the Mahony farms, returned, and desired to live at Nain. But they were all lodged beyond the river Lecha, until they had given full proof of their true repentance and change of heart.

The departure of an aged brother, Michael, in 1758, whom the missionaries in their letters call the Crown of the Indian congregation, deserves to be recorded. In his younger days he had been an experienced and courageous warrior. In an engagement which was kept up for six or eight hours with great fury, he undauntedly kept his post at a tree, though above twenty musket-balls lodged in it. He was baptized in 1742; his life was consistent, his mind cheerful, and his end calm and full of joy. The serenity of his countenance, when laid in his coffin, formed a singular contrast with the figures scarified upon his face when a warrior. These were, a large snake, upon the right cheek and temple; from the under-lip a pole passed over the nose and between the eyes to the top of his forehead, ornamented at every quarter of an inch with round marks, representing scalps: upon the left cheek, two lances crossing each other; and upon the lower jaw the head of a wild boar.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the beginning of 1759, neither Pennsylvania, nor the neighbouring provinces, were disturbed by the Indians. This caused universal joy in all the settlements of the Brethren, but particularly in Nain, where public thanks and praises were offered up by the whole congregation to God our Saviour, not only because he had preserved the Indian congregation, during the above-mentioned severe calamities and grievous trials, in one mind and in fellowship of heart, but had also caused his word to penetrate into the hearts of many savages, even in the midst of war and bloodshed.

Nain soon increased and became a very pleasant settlement. A separate burying-ground was made for its inhabitants, and they provided a church-bell, by a collection raised among themselves. Those Indians who had retired to Nazareth, removed now to Nain, and the single Brethren built a house for their own use; Br. Rothe being appointed to attend and instruct them.

The measles appearing at Nain, in March, 1759, the Indians were greatly alarmed; but when, out of forty-seven who were infected, not one died, those who had been so timid and terrified, for a while, at the appearance of death, were ashamed of their fears; knowing that the dissolution of this mortal body would have translated them into the presence of Christ.

Among the visitors, the heathen teacher Papunhank, from Machwihilusing, deserves to be noticed. For several years he had been zealous in propagating his doctrines of heathen morality: but as both teacher and hearers were addicted to the commission of the most abominable vices, and grew worse and worse, several of the latter began to doubt whether Papunhank were a teacher of truth; and being questioned, he frankly confessed, that he could not act in conformity to his own doctrines. When he heard

the Gospel of the crucified Jesus preached at Nain, he observed, that he had always believed in a Supreme Being, yet he never knew, that, from love to man, God himself had become a man, and died to save sinners, but that now he believed, that this was the saving doctrine he wanted. Then, bursting into tears, he exclaimed: "O God! have mercy upon me, and grant, that the death of my Saviour may be made manifest unto me." Some time after, he was present at a baptism in Bethlehem, and told one of the Brethren, that during that transaction he had felt something in his heart, which he could find no words to express in the Indian language, and that now his most fervent prayer was, that that God, whom the minister had described before the baptism, might reveal himself unto his spirit. Under these impressions he went home, called his people together, and in a most pathetic manner related what he had experienced, adding: "My dear people, I have told you many good things, and pointed out a good way; but I have now learnt, that it was not the right one. If we wish to be saved, we must look to that Jesus whom the Brethren preach."—He afterwards returned with thirty-three of his followers.

The congregation at Pachgatgoch was served at this time by the missionary Grube, and afterwards by Martin Mack. The missionaries here became acquainted with several Indian separatists, who were formerly baptized by the Presbyterians, but afterwards excluded from their fellowship. They then chose a preacher from their own number, who once brought seventeen of his congregation to Pachgatgoch. They had three or four meetings every day, and conversed much with the Indian Brethren; but their conduct proved no honour to that Saviour in whose name they had been baptized. Pachgatgoch was much troubled by recruiting parties,* and many young people

* An English captain one day asked a baptized Indian to enlist:—"No," said he, "I am already engaged." "Who is your captain?" enquired the officer. "I have a very brave and excellent captain," answered the Indian; "his name is Jesus Christ; him will I serve as long as I live, and my life is at his disposal."

suffered themselves to be deceived by their insinuating representations of the life of a warrior.

At Nain, the number of inhabitants increased so fast, by the return of many who had strayed during the war, that it became expedient to divide the congregation. In this view, 1400 acres of land were purchased by the congregation at Bethlehem, behind the Blue Mountains, where a new settlement was begun, and called *Wechquetank*. In April, 1760, the missionary Gottlob Senseman went thither with thirty baptized Indians, whose number soon increased. In a short time the necessary buildings were completed, and the same regulations made as at Nain. On the 26th of June, the chapel was consecrated by Bishop Spangenberg.*

Nain became now more known in the country, and the inhabitants had the confidence of their European neighbours, having given undeniable proofs of their good disposition. They had even recovered several white children, who were taken prisoners in the war, and not being restored after the conclusion of peace, were supposed to be dead. Their return afforded inexpressible joy to their afflicted parents. In February, 1761, a white man came weeping to Nain, begging that a few Indian Brethren would assist him and his wife in searching for their little daughter, whom they had lost the day before. Some Indian Brethren went immediately to the house of the parents, and discovered the footsteps of the child, and tracing the same for the distance of two miles, found the child in the woods, wrapped up in its petticoat, and almost perished with cold. The parents spread the report of the good disposition and success of the baptized Indians all over the country.

In August, the English government had another treaty at Easton with the deputies of many Indian tribes, which occasioned frequent visits to Nain. Tadeuskund arrived with a retinue of above 100 Indians, and according to the

* He returned to Europe in 1762, and was succeeded in the superintendency of the North American congregations by Bishops Boehler and Seidel.

list of this year, 652 travellers were provided with food and lodging during their stay in Nain and Bethlehem.

The missionaries and Indian assistants both here and in Wechquetank were very active in preaching the word of God to all that would hear, and its power was made manifest in many. But they were sorry to perceive in the moralist Papunhank, that, though he appeared very desirous of knowing God, the Creator of all things, yet he wished to keep his post as a teacher of the people, persuading them that he also was sound in faith. Br. Schmick, therefore, told him the truth in private, wishing, at the close of his conversation, that the Holy Ghost would impart to him a true sense of his unbelief, and of the great depravity of his soul, and that he might have an earnest desire for the pardon and remission of his sins in the blood of Jesus: "then," added he, "you will soon learn to know your God and Saviour Jesus Christ, as your Creator and Redeemer, and experience the saving power of his precious blood, to deliver you from the fetters of sin." Joachim, an assistant, entering the room, added, "Papunhank, you speak much of your faith, but you have not a grain. Your faith is much the same as mine would be, if I should now pretend to believe that I had a pair of stockings on, when my legs are bare and cold. What kind of faith would that be?"

In the autumn, a report was circulated in Nain, that an Indian had been killed by a white man in the Jerseys. The whole country, still sensible of the cruelties attending an Indian war, was thereby filled with fear and dread. Tadeuskund also, returning from Philadelphia, brought the melancholy news, that the war would soon break out again, and that the Indians ascribed it solely to the Christians and their rum trade.

In 1762, Zeisberger twice visited the Indians who had returned to Wajomick, many of whom were ill of a flux raging in those parts. Augustus, the brother-in-law of Tadeuskund, and his wife Augustina, were of this number: they had previously visited Nain, owning their sins with many tears, and expressing a great desire to return, if

the Lord and his people would but receive such wretched prodigals. The Brethren willingly forgave and readmitted them to their fellowship. Before his death at Wajomick, Augustus declared to his friends, with great emotion, that the Lord had pardoned his transgressions. "Now (said he) my trembling heart is comforted; and I shall soon go unto my Saviour: remember my wicked life no more; avoid my bad example, think on God your Saviour, and follow him and his people: thus alone you will prosper. And now," added he, "I will lie down and rest;" and he immediately expired. His wife died some days before; and her sister, Tadeuskund's wife, soon followed him to eternal rest. Thus the good Shepherd found and saved these poor sheep, concerning whom the missionaries had been much perplexed, scarcely expecting ever to see their return.

Many pleasing fruits of the preaching of the Gospel appeared among the numerous heathen who visited Nain, during the council which the Government held at Lancaster with the Indians, in 1762. One said: "Never did I hear any thing like this, that my God and Creator will receive and save sinners who come unto him; and that they may even come loaded with their sins." He added, "Praised be God that I came and heard such sweet words," and burst into tears. A young Nantikok was taken very ill after his return to Philadelphia. Before his death, he said to his two brothers: "In Nain, they teach the right way to eternal life. There I have often heard, that our Creator became a man, died on the cross for our sins, was buried, rose again, and ascended up into heaven, and that whosoever believes in him, shall not perish; but when he dies, shall live with him for ever. If you wish to hear these good words, go to Nain; and when I die, suffer my bones to rest quietly in the earth, and do not remove them, according to your custom." Soon after, his brothers came to Nain, and related this story, adding, that their brother had prayed much to God, crying for mercy and pardon, to his last breath.

A boy, not four years old, was not only remarkably pa-

tient and resigned during his last illness, but his conversation proved an abiding blessing to his father, who happened then to be in an unhappy state of mind. On the day before he died, he asked him, "Father, do you love me?" The father replied, "Yes, I do:" upon repeating his question, he received the same answer. "But then," added he, "do you love our Saviour?"—"No," replied the father, "I am just now very poor and miserable."—"Ah," said the child, "if you do not love our Saviour, you cannot love me as you ought."

During the course of this year Br. Post endeavoured to establish a mission among the Indians living on the river Muskingum, about 100 miles beyond Pittsburg. Br. Heckewelder accompanied him, and soon made great progress in the Delaware language. But their intention was suddenly frustrated by the intrigues of the French, who had stirred up the Indians once more to try their strength against the English.

In the beginning of the year 1763, the congregations in Nain and Wechquetank enjoyed peace and prosperity. The joy in the Lord in both places was connected with an earnest desire to follow those who had strayed from the congregation; and to see them return to the enjoyment of true happiness. On this account the death of Tadeuskund in April, gave them great pain. He was burnt in his house at Wajomick, without having given any proof of repentance.* The drunken savages, seeing his house in flames, set fire to the whole village, which was soon consumed to ashes. Among those who returned was Sarah, Abraham's widow, who came with her daughter from the Susquehannah to Wechquetank, and begged earnestly for re-admission. She declared that she would not have forsaken the congregation, but for her husband; who had

* On one occasion he said: "As to externals, I possess every thing in plenty; but riches are of no use to me, for I have a troubled conscience. I still remember well, what it is to feel peace in the heart, but I have now lost all."—It is believed that his house was purposely set on fire by the Indians, because he assumed more authority than belonged to him, and opposed their scheme of a new war with the English.—See *Heckewelder's Narrative.*

said to her before he died, "I am guilty of having led you to this place; forgive me, return to our Saviour, beg him to show mercy unto you, and entreat the Brethren to receive you again." She followed his advice, the inhabitants of Wechquetank received her gladly, and a small cottage was built for her.

In May, Zeisberger and the Indian Br. Anthony went up the Susquehannah as far as Machwihilusing. The occasion of this journey was a report of a remarkable awakening in those parts. The Indian council had met six days successively, to consider how they might procure a teacher of the truth; but had come to no resolution, except to desist from attending Papunhank's sermons, not believing that he preached the genuine word of God. When Zeisberger reached the town, he was kindly received and lodged by Papunhank himself. In the evening the people assembled, desiring that he would preach the word of God to them. Zeisberger then spoke from the abundance of his heart, and great power attended the word of reconciliation. Anthony confirmed the missionary's words from his own experience, and though fatigued by the journey, continued preaching and extolling the power of the blood of Jesus, before his astonished countrymen, till after midnight. The next day, at five in the morning, the people assembled again; for the women being then engaged in planting, they desired to hear the "great word" before they went to the fields. The same was done every day during their stay. Messengers were then sent to a party of Indians who had removed about twenty miles higher up the river, to invite them also to come and hear the Gospel, which they did with great eagerness.

The fathers of families assembled, and resolved to send a message to the Brethren, requesting that they would send a teacher to live with them. With this message Zeisberger and his companion returned to Bethlehem, where it was thought best that he himself should return to Machwihilusing, as resident missionary, and he gladly accepted of this call. On the road, while making a hut for his night's lodging, he wounded himself very dangerously in the foot

with an axe, so that he fainted away, from loss of blood. But the Indian assistant, Nathanael, who accompanied him, instantly procured a healing plant in the wood, and applied it to the wound, by which Zeisberger not only recovered from his swoon, but to his great astonishment, the wound soon closed and healed. After suffering many hardships, they at length arrived safe in Machwihilusing, where they were again kindly received by Papunhank and the whole town; and Zeisberger rejoiced to find the people still eager to hear the word of God.

Soon after this, some well-meaning people of a different persuasion arrived at Machwihilusing. Zeisberger received them kindly, and was willing that they should speak to the people. But the Indians having summoned a council, invited these new teachers to be present. Papunhank then addressed them in the name of the rest, giving them an account of their former proceedings, adding, that God had heard their prayers and sent the Brethren to them; and therefore they desired no other. Upon this the teachers expressed themselves satisfied, and wished Br. Zeisberger much success, justly observing, that he had undertaken a very arduous task.

Many Indians came from the adjoining country, that they also might be instructed in the Gospel, and it appeared as if the Lord would set up his standard in this place. Papunhank, a man naturally vain and high in his own conceit, was so overcome by the divine power attending the word of the cross, that he cast all his own righteousness aside, bemoaning his wretched life and total depravity, with true contrition. The extraordinary change wrought in him was remarkably obvious; he would hardly eat or drink, and at length came to Zeisberger, confessing the gross sins of which he had been guilty, and begged earnestly to be baptized. His request was granted on the 26th of June. At his baptism, he made a solemn declaration of his faith before all the people; and added, that he had formerly preached to them, believing himself to be a good man; not knowing that he was such a miserable creature, yea the chief of sinners amongst them, and now

begged them to forgive and forget every thing he had formerly done! The whole assembly seemed overcome with awe and devotion, and the missionary was filled with praise and thanksgiving. He was named John, and his whole demeanor bespoke the regeneration of his heart. Another Indian, who had formerly been Papunhank's opponent, was baptized after him, and called Peter. This man seemed at a loss how to express his joy, and said, that now his heart was easy, and freed from a burden which but lately appeared insupportable to him.

CHAPTER IX.

THE scene now began to change. The peace and joy of the believers were unexpectedly interrupted by intelligence of the hostilities committed by the Indians near the great lakes of Canada and on the Ohio, where they had murdured many white people. They had also begun to make incursions into Pennsylvania, and there was much reason to fear a repetition of those dreadful scenes exhibited in 1755. The fanatics again revived their doctrine, that this new war was a just punishment of God, because the Europeans, like the Israelites of old, had not destroyed the Canaanites, and therefore declared that all Indians, without exception, ought to be put to the sword.

The inhabitants of Nain and Wechquetank were most alarmed on this account. The men, who were then hunting at a great distance from the settlements, were recalled in haste. The Governor of Pennsylvania promised them his protection, and sent some companies of soldiers, dressed like Indian warriors, to defend the frontiers, and these troops came into the neighbourhood of Nain and Wechquetank, so that the Indian Brethren thought themselves in no great danger of being surprised by the savages. But four strange Indians from the Ohio, who visited Wechquetank, Nain, and Bethlehem, being discovered to belong to a band of murderers, who were meditating an attack upon the country, some dangerous correspondence between the Christian Indians and the enemy was suspected. And

the Brethren, finding that they had to fear an attack both from the white people and the savages, came to a resolution not to oppose the former, but boldly to defend themselves against the latter. They even consented, by desire of the officers, to wear a certain mark, by which they might be known to be peaceful Indians.

The white settlers attended now to the motions of the people at Wechquetank; resolving not to fly, as long as the Christian Indians maintained their ground, but frequently repeating their request, that if their flight was resolved upon, they might be informed in time to save themselves.

In August, 1763, Zachary and his wife, who had left the congregation at Wechquetank some time before, came on a visit, and attempted to disquiet the minds of the Brethren, respecting the intentions of the white people. A woman, called Zippora, was persuaded to follow them. But these poor people verified that saying of our blessed Saviour: "He that loveth his life, shall lose it." On their return, they stayed at the river Bukabuka, where Captain Wetterhold lay with a company of soldiers, and went unconcerned to sleep in a hay-loft. In the night they were surprised by the soldiers; Zippora was thrown down upon the threshing-floor, and killed; Zachary escaped out of the house, but was pursued, and with his wife and little child put to the sword, though the mother begged for their lives upon her knees.

After this event, the soldiers, naturally supposing that Zachary's four brothers, living at Wechquetank, would endeavour to revenge his death, prohibited the Indians to hunt, threatening to kill the first they should meet in the forest: Captain Wetterhold was however persuaded to desist from this measure, by the firm and repeated remonstrances of the missionary Grube. Thus peace was restored for some time, and the congregation at Wechquetank was greatly encouraged by the steady and intrepid conduct of their missionary. He cared for them as a father, and was never weary of speaking in their behalf to the officers of the militia, though at times roughly treated.

On the 8th of October, a messenger arrived at Nain with intelligence, that the savages had attacked an Irish settlement, eight miles from Bethlehem, and killed Captain Wetterhold, his lieutenant, several soldiers, and a Mr. Stinton, whose wife narrowly escaped.

This dreadful event placed the congregations at Nain and Wechquetank, and their missionaries, in a critical situation, both the savages and the white people being their enemies. The latter were now so enraged against all the Indians, that they thirsted after revenge. Thus situated, the Brethren could do nothing but resign themselves to God, their Almighty Protector, depending upon his help in the time of trouble. In both places a strict watch was kept by night and day. The Indians were full of faith and courage: one of them said, "Wicked people are as weak as worms in the sight of our Saviour: he can and will protect us, and cause fear to come upon them." His words were verified the very next day, for on the 9th of October, about fifty white men assembled on the opposite side of the Lecha, with a view to surprise Nain in the night, and to murder all the inhabitants. But a neighbouring friend representing, in strong terms, the danger and difficulty of such an attempt, the enemy forsook their intentions and returned home.

The same day on which Nain was in such imminent danger, a party of outrageous Irish freebooters came to Wechquetank, fully intending to destroy all the Indian inhabitants, accusing them of having been accomplices in the murder committed in their settlement. Br. Grube could hardly restrain them, by representing the impossibility of their having been present; he and his people being daily in danger of being attacked by the savages, and on that account not daring to venture out of the place. At departing, they were heard to say, that if the Indians did not soon quit the place, they would return and execute their barbarous design. The text of Scripture appointed for that day was, "God shall help her, and that right early," Ps. xlvi. 5. In the evening Br. Grube delivered a discourse upon it, by which his intimidated congregation

was much strengthened, and encouraged never to doubt of the help of the Lord. During the night, several spies were discovered lurking about the settlement, and a fire at some distance betrayed a neighbouring encampment, so that a sudden attack was suspected. This was probably prevented solely by a very violent rain, which fell during this dark and gloomy night.

The missionary now received an express from Bethlehem, with the most pressing solicitations, to break up immediately and retire with his whole congregation to Nazareth, promising that waggons should be sent to meet them. When they were preparing to depart, ten musket shots were heard near the settlement, which alarmed the Indians. Br. Grube exhorted them to stand firm, and to expect deliverance from God. Peter answered, "Very true; only don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first." Suddenly the party from whom the attack was feared, marched off with the Indian war-whoop, and it was afterwards discovered, that they were a party of soldiers, who wished to draw the Indians into the field to fight them.

The waggons arrived soon after from Nazareth, and the whole congregation set out on the 11th of October, not without regret, that they were obliged to quit so pleasant a spot as Wechquetank, with good houses and large plantations; especially as they were obliged to leave their harvest, and great part of their cattle behind them. The Brethren kept a good look-out on both sides of the road through the woods, especially during the night, when they encamped in the open air; and on the day following the Lord conducted them safe to Nazareth, where they were received with great joy, welcomed at a love-feast, and liberally provided with clothing and every thing necessary.

Thus the congregation at Nazareth had likewise the pleasure to entertain an Indian congregation, as Bethlehem had done in 1755.

In the mean time, the congregation at Nain was blockaded on all sides. The savages continued to lay waste the country with fire and sword, and killed most of the New

England people living in Wajomick. This increased the fury of the white people against the Indians in general, and the inhabitants of Nain ventured no longer to go to Bethlehem on business. No Indian ventured to fetch wood, or to look after his cattle, without a white brother to accompany him, or a passport in his pocket. Even at home the men were obliged to keep strict watch by day and night. In this trying situation they held out patiently for four weeks. The peace of God and the brotherly love which then prevailed in a great degree among them, preserved their courage and patience.

But, unexpectedly, their affairs took a different turn. October 19th, an Indian, called Renatus, son of the venerable Jacob, was seized, as the murderer of one of the Irish settlers, and his person having been sworn to by the widow, he was conveyed to Philadelphia and imprisoned.

It may easily be conceived, how soon the report of this transaction spread through the country, and how the fury of the white people rose against the Indian congregation at Nain. They therefore expected nothing less than a cruel death. But God inclined the hearts of the chief magistrates to protect them, before it was too late. November 6th, an express arrived, bringing an order from Government, that all the baptized Indians from Nain and Wechquetank should be brought to Philadelphia, and be protected in that city, having first delivered up their arms. When the order was announced at Nain, the inhabitants lifted up their voices and wept, yet they expressed themselves fully resigned to the will of the Lord, and ready to go; but declared they would rather die than leave their teachers. Being assured that the missionaries would not forsake them, they prepared for the journey; and as soon as the sheriff arrived, the Indian Brethren delivered their guns to him with a composure of mind, which most strikingly proved the change wrought in them, for an heathen Indian would rather part with his head than with his gun.

In the mean time the Indians of Wechquetank, then at Nazareth, were informed of the order of Government, and

showed the same obedience. They set out on the 8th of November, and at noon arrived in Bethlehem, where the inhabitants furnished them with apparel, and with sympathizing hearts bid them farewell.

On the same day in the afternoon the congregation at Nain emigrated, and joined the congregation of Wechquetank at the Lecha. Thus the whole Indian flock was again united, and entered upon their pilgrimage in the name of the Lord. They derived great comfort from this, that their faithful teachers did not forsake them; the missionaries Grube, Schmick, Zeisberger*, and Rothe going with them. Other Brethren accompanied them to Philadelphia, and the sheriff cared for them as a father. The sick, the aged, and children were conveyed in waggons, the rest went on foot. They suffered most from the malice of some white people on the road, who abused and loaded them with curses. And at Germantown a party had even resolved, immediately upon their arrival, to do them some mischief, but the darkness of the night and the violent rains prevented it.

November 11th, they arrived at the barracks in Philadelphia, in which, by order of Government, they were to be lodged: but the soldiers refused them admittance, and the poor Indians were detained in the street, from ten o'clock in the morning to three in the afternoon. A dreadful mob gathered around them, charging them with all the outrages committed by the savages, and threatening to kill them on the spot; which they certainly would have done, had the Indians returned evil for evil. But they were silent, and afterwards said that they had comforted themselves, by considering what insult and mockery our Saviour had suffered on their account. The magistrates, perceiving that the soldiers persisted in refusing to admit the Indians into the barracks, sent an order that they should proceed to Province Island, about six miles below the city.

Here they settled as well as circumstances would permit; and the missionaries assisted in bringing their affairs

* He had been recalled from Machwihilusing.

into some order and regularity: they had their usual meetings every day, which at that time proved a great comfort to their souls. The rest of the time was spent by each family as usefully as possible. Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially some of the people called Quakers,* humanely endeavoured by benefactions to render the inconvenience of their situation less grievous. Though curiosity led many inhabitants of Philadelphia to visit the converted Indians, yet they enjoyed peace and safety in this place. Their village of Wechquetank was burnt by the white people before they reached Philadelphia, and in the night of the 18th some incendiaries set fire to the oil-mill at Bethlehem, which was consumed, and the adjoining water-works were with great difficulty saved from destruction.

Towards the end of this month (Nov.) John Papunhank came with 21 Indians to Bethlehem, seeking protection. They were directed to Philadelphia, and thence proceeded to the Indian congregation at Province Island.

The Brethren felt the greatest gratitude in seeing the rest and protection enjoyed by this persecuted congregation during their exile, especially when they heard that a party of peaceable Indians, who had long lived quietly among the white people, were attacked on the 14th of December in the small village of Canestoga, near Lancaster, by the so-called Christians from Paxton. Fourteen were murdered in their huts. The rest fled to Lancaster, where the magistrates lodged them in the gaol for safety. They were followed, however, by the murderers, who marched into the town at noon-day, broke open the prison, and cruelly murdered and scalped them all, sparing neither women nor children, and then threw their mangled bodies into the street. They departed with a shout of victory, threatening that the Indians in Province Island should share the same fate.

Government issued a proclamation against these outrages, forbidding any one to molest the Indians in Province

* The Indians frequently declared afterwards, that even "the sight of a Quaker made them feel happy."

Island, under the severest penalties, and promising a reward of £200. to any one who should bring the two ringleaders of the above party to justice. But the rioters became more numerous and daring, and agreed to go to Philadelphia, and not to rest till all the Indians, taken into protection by Government, were massacred.

December 29th, intelligence was received that the rioters were on the road, intending to fall upon the Christian Indians. The governor instantly informed the missionaries, advising them to be upon their guard; and afterwards sent some boats, ordering them and their people immediately to go on board and proceed to Leek Island, where they were to expect further orders. This proved to be a false alarm, and they returned to Province Island on the 31st, and closed this remarkable year with prayer and thanksgiving for all the proofs of the help of God in so many heavy trials.

Government having received more certain information concerning the murderous intentions of the rioters, resolved to send the persecuted congregation for safety by way of New York to the English army, and particularly to recommend them to Sir William Johnson, agent for the Crown among the Northern Indians. January 4th, at midnight, they set out, proceeding by water to a place about five miles from Philadelphia, and passed early and almost unobserved through that city to the house of the Brethren, where a breakfast was provided for them in the meeting-hall. Here they were visited by the commissary, Mr. Fox, who was appointed by Government to direct their future journey. This gentleman was so struck at the sight of these poor emigrants, that he immediately ordered a number of blankets to be distributed among them, that they might defend themselves better against the severe cold. Waggons being provided for the aged, the blind, the sick, the children, and the heavy baggage, they set out, accompanied by the missionaries, amidst so great a crowd of people, that they could hardly proceed. The mob cursed and reviled them in a dreadful manner, but no one ventured to lay hands on them. Captain Robertson, with 70

Highlanders, were then ordered to escort them. The commissaries, Messrs. Fox and Logan, went with them as far as Trenton, where the latter addressed them in the name of the governor, declaring his abhorrence of the murder of the Canestoga Indians, and delivered two belts of wampum to be sent to the Iroquois. By the first, they were exhorted to make peace, having begun the war without cause; to the second, some pieces of black cloth and handkerchiefs were added, for the friends of the poor murdered Indians, to "cover the graves of their relations, and to wipe away their tears."

Mr. Logan having delivered this speech the Indians took leave of both gentlemen, expressing their humble thanks to them and the governor, for the many favours they had received during these troubles. In Trenton, the commissary, Mr. Epty, took charge of them, and provided every thing needful for their convenience on the road.

In all the towns through which they passed the mob insulted them; but they arrived in safety at Amboy, where two sloops were ready to carry them to New York. But when ready to go on board a messenger unexpectedly arrived from the governor of New York, with strict orders that not one Indian should set foot in that territory. Captain Robertson was ordered by General Gage to prevent them from proceeding; and the ferrymen were likewise prohibited, by a severe penalty, to cross the river with them. Mr. Epty immediately sent an account of these proceedings to Philadelphia, desiring further orders.

In the meantime the Indians lay in the barracks at Amboy, where they held their daily meetings in the usual order. Great numbers of white people attended, who were highly pleased with their devotion, especially with their singing, and conceived a more favourable opinion of them. One of the soldiers exclaimed, "Would to God, all the white people were as good Christians as these Indians."

According to orders sent by the governor at Philadelphia, the Indian congregation set out on their return, under the protection of 170 soldiers of General Gage's army,

commanded by Captain Schlosser, who treated the Indians with great kindness. Near Brunswick they were in great danger in passing over the ice, and the infirm and aged were obliged to creep over the frozen rivers upon their hands and feet. January 24th they arrived in Philadelphia, where they were lodged in the barracks. They first met to render thanks to God for the blessing and support experienced from him during this singular peregrination. Soon after their arrival they were so disturbed by the mob that the first guard granted to them was not sufficient for their protection. Large bodies of rioters marched towards Philadelphia, declaring that they now would not rest till all the Indians protected by government were delivered over to them.

This occasioned the guard at the barracks to be doubled, and the magistrates were at length obliged to repel force by force. February 3rd, eight heavy pieces of cannon were drawn up in front of the barracks, and a rampart raised in the middle of the square. The citizens, and even many young Quakers, took up arms, and repaired to the barracks to assist in defending the poor Indians, who had been brought in great haste out of the lower into the upper story. At midnight the governor himself visited them, bidding them be of good cheer, and soothing their fears by his condescending behaviour. Several persons of distinction likewise came, and showed their friendly disposition towards the Indians; some even stayed in the barracks, supposing they could be no where more safe.

February 4th, intelligence was received of the approach of the rioters, and the whole town was in an uproar. On the discharge of the 18-pounders, the Indians, having never heard the report of such large cannon, were excessively terrified. The rebels, however, did not venture to approach, and the citizens returned home. But in the night between the 5th and 6th a report prevailed that the rioters were again on the road. The church bells were rung, the streets illuminated, and the inhabitants were ordered to attend at the town-house, where arms and cartridges were distributed among them. Two companies of

armed citizens repaired to the barracks, and four more cannon were mounted.

The white Brethren at Philadelphia were also exposed to much abuse and slander from misinformed people, who ascribed all these disturbances to them and their Indian converts. The Indians considered themselves as devoted to slaughter, and though they were very thankful for the spirited preparations made by government for their defence, yet placed their only hope in the Lord.

At length certain information was received that the rioters, hearing of the preparations made to receive them, had resolved to proceed no further. Some gentlemen were deputed to ask them what they had to complain of. They asserted, that there were several murderers among the Indians, whom they had seen at Pittsburg, and demanded that they should be delivered up. One of the ringleaders was then invited to enter the barracks, and point them out. Accordingly he examined every individual, but did not find one whom he could charge with any crime. They then said, that the Quakers had secretly taken six of the Indians out of the barracks and hid them in a place of safety. This was also investigated and proved false, upon which the rioters marched off, and relinquished their design for the present.

The Indians in the barracks now offered up praises and thanksgiving to God, that he had so graciously defeated the designs of their enemies; and the missionaries reminded them of the remarkable text of Scripture appointed for that day:—"Hitherto hath the Lord helped us," 1 Sam. vii. 12.

People of all ranks came to see the Indians, who were now literally become a spectacle to thousands. The public worship of the congregation was attended by crowds of hearers; yet the greatest silence and order was preserved. Some were pleased with the singing of the Indians, others heard the Gospel attentively, and believed in the word of the cross, among whom were several soldiers. To the Indians, who came with John Papunhank from Machwihilusing, besides others from the Jerseys, who were also

quartered in the barracks, the preaching of the Gospel proved the power of God unto salvation.

Another attempt to send the Christian Indians to the army having failed, and it appearing that their removal from the barracks could not be soon effected, the missionary Grube commenced an English school with the Indian youth, who took great delight in learning; and the Indian families began to settle for a long stay. However, their present situation was more afflicting to some than all past dangers. Their living so close together began to appear insupportable; the men could not go into the forest to hunt, which being against their very nature, a spirit of independence and liberty began to arise, especially in some of the young people. The task of the missionaries was thereby rendered very difficult.

Early in March, John Papunhank and another Indian Brother were sent as messengers of peace to the hostile Indians, to inform them that they were all alive, and to desire them to lay down the hatchet. Encouraged by the reply they received, they addressed Government, and begged earnestly, that they might be safely escorted to the frontiers, from whence they would find their way to General Johnson. As the war with the Indians still continued, Government could not grant their request. By this refusal, their uneasiness increased. Nor was this all. As the summer advanced, fevers and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned such a dread and horror, that many meditated their escape from the barracks.—In this distress* God blessed the perseverance of the missionaries, whose friendly and encouraging admonitions at length prevailed. Their uneasiness was changed into a perfect resignation to the will of the Lord.

Fifty-six of the Indians died: among whom was Jacob, the father of Renatus, then unjustly imprisoned. He was baptized at Oley in 1742. His walk was steady, and he was respected by all as a father in Christ. His corpse

* The name of Jacob Weiss a gentleman in Philadelphia, is recorded by the missionaries, with strong expressions of gratitude, for his benevolence on this occasion.

was interred in the public burying-ground. The other Indians, who died of the small-pox, were buried in the Potter's Field, belonging to the Quakers. Soon after the death of Jacob, his daughter in-law, and her infant son, followed him into eternity. Poor Renatus, upon hearing these tidings, wept most bitterly. "This," said he, "is almost too much to bear; to lose my father, my wife and child, while I myself am confined in prison!"

After an imprisonment of eight months and many examinations, occasioned by repeated accusations brought against him upon oath, that he was the person who murdered Mr. Stinton, in the Irish settlement, Renatus was at last sent to Easton, to take his trial. The jury, having been shut up a whole night, brought in their verdict, *Not Guilty;* upon which he was immediately dismissed, and returned with a joyful heart to his brethren in Philadelphia. The word of Scripture for that day (June 19) was: "God meant it unto good, to bring it to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive." Gen. l. 20. This was verified. By his acquittal the adversaries entirely lost their aim, which was to cast a general odium upon the believing Indians, and to render the Brethren's mission universally suspected.

In the mean time the negotiations were continued, and the Iroquois being reconciled, they compelled the other Indian nations to lay down their arms.—December 4th, 1764, the news of peace arrived in Philadelphia, to the great joy of the Indians.

Soon after, some Indian Brethren, who had been on the Susquehannah, returned with a circumstantial detail of the miseries endured by the Indians who refused to take a share in the war. Joshua said, "We thought ourselves great sufferers here in the barracks, but our sufferings bear no comparison to those of the Indians in the woods, and we now acknowledge, that the Lord mercifully directed our affairs, as our teachers have often told us."

The congregation at Pachgatgoch, whose situation was very distressing in the year 1762, was still more oppressed during the war, and at length so much dispersed, that no-

thing remained, but the hope, that they might unite again in time of peace.

The believing Indians now resolved to go to Machwihilusing, which had been deserted in the late war, and where the old huts were still standing. Government granted them leave to depart, and not only liberally provided them with necessaries, but issued an order that they should be supplied with corn from Fort Allen, until their own should be ripe.

A formal vocation was also given to the missionaries Schmick and Zeisberger, to move with the Indian congregation to the Susquehannah, which they gladly accepted; and on the 18th of March the Indian Brethren delivered an address to the governor, gratefully acknowledging the kindness and friendship he had shewn to them during the war, which was graciously received; and the missionaries added their grateful thanks both to the governor and to Mr. Fox, who as commissary for Government had cared for the Indians, from beginning to end, with unwearied attention. The latter replied with tears, "I have willingly done what I could, knowing their innocence."

March 20th, the Indian congregation set off from the barracks of Philadelphia with great joy, attended by some friends from the city, who wished them the Lord's blessing. After a troublesome but safe journey, the travellers arrived at Nain, where they rested for several days. Here the missionary Grube delivered a farewell discourse to the Indians, and thus closed his faithful labours of 13 years among these people.

April 3d, the whole congregation broke up and proceeded on their journey, passing through Bethlehem, to take leave of their former faithful neighbours, so closely united to them in the bonds of brotherly love.

Waggons were provided for the children, the sick, and infirm, and for the heavy baggage: but they had a very difficult journey, for though peace was re-established, yet the enmity of many white people against the Indians was still so great, that, to avoid danger, they were obliged to

take a long circuit. They also met with stormy weather attended with snow, and were obliged to take up their nights' lodgings chiefly in the woods, every family building a hut and keeping up fires all night. Sometimes they were obliged to stay all night in a swamp, not finding any dry ground near them. Hunting was their chief support. They carried the loads, which were not put in the waggons, over high, steep, and rocky hills, in small parcels, being thus often obliged several times to double the road. In some parts they cut their way for some miles through the woods, and once even for five miles together. The Brethren waded through many brooks and rivers: and for the women and children they made rafts, but the strong current often carried away the trees they had cut down for this purpose, before they could be fixed together; and they once lost twenty-five in this manner. Some rivers were so broad and deep that they were obliged to encamp on their banks, till they had built canoes sufficient to cross them. The greatest difficulty they met with, was the want of provisions, whenever they passed through regions where there was neither game nor fish. Those who had something in store were always willing to distribute. At last their whole stock of flour was consumed, and it was an affecting sight to see them receive their last portion. They were frequently happy to find wild potatoes, the disagreeable flavour of which hunger alone could render palatable. To satisfy the children who cried for hunger, they peeled chesnut trees, and made them suck the sweet juice under the bark, and even the grown people were obliged to do the same. They had frequently no other drink than muddy water found in puddles. Some died during this journey. Once they were greatly terrified in the night, by the woods being on fire, and burning fiercely all around their encampment from ten till one in the morning. At length they arrived at the Susquehannah, and got a few boats from Lechawachneck to proceed up the river. Some went forward by land to Machwihilusing, and procured more boats: but yet, for want of a sufficient number, many were obliged to proceed along the banks of the

river, and were much fatigued by the stony roads over the hills. But all these trials were forgotten in their daily meetings which were always held in the evening, around a large fire in the open air.

At last they arrived at Machwihilusing on the 9th of May, after a journey of five weeks; and all with one accord declared, that unless God himself had spread his wings over them they should never have lived to see that day.

CHAPTER X.

As a mariner rejoices, who after a long and severe storm has reached his desired haven, so likewise did the Indian congregation and her faithful teachers rejoice. They now forgot all their former distress, and devoted themselves anew to Him who had given them rest for the soles of their feet. They pitched upon a convenient spot on the banks of the Susquehannah and built a regular settlement, which they called Friedenshutten (*Tents of Peace*). It consisted of thirteen Indian huts and upwards of forty houses, built of wood in the European manner, covered with shingles, and provided with windows and chimnies. A small, but convenient house was erected for the missionaries, and in the middle of the street, which was upwards of eighty feet broad, stood the chapel. Next to the houses the ground was laid out in gardens, and between the settlement and the river about 250 acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. Each family had their own boat. The burying ground was situated at some distance, at the back of the buildings. The missionaries made their own gardens and plantations.

Their stock of bread being soon consumed, a party of Brethren set out for Fort Allen to fetch the corn so liberally provided by the government of Pennsylvania. It served them till their own corn was ripe, and God granted so rich a harvest that they had not even room enough for their store.

October 20th, 1765, the sacrament of baptism was administered for the first time in Friedenshutten to the wife

of the Indian Sakima; and he himself was baptized on Christmas day. John Papunhank was also the first who was here made a partaker of the Lord's Supper, and the reality of his conversion became every day more evident. His large acquaintance, and especially the fame of Friedenshutten, drew a great number of visitors from all parts, and the missionaries, who in August received Br. Rothe as an assistant from Bethlehem, had here the desirable opportunity of declaring the grace of Jesus before great numbers of heathen. Many believed the glad tidings, and turned to the Lord. Among the visitors were many Indians, belonging to the Cajuga, one of the Six Nations, or Iroquois. These seemed better prepared to receive the kingdom of God, were more unreserved, and less entangled with political affairs than the others. It was observed with pleasure, that Br. Zeisberger, by repeatedly visiting Onondago, had brought the Brethren and their cause into great esteem among the Iroquois. Once during his absence from Friedenshutten, the missionary Schmick asked some of the Cajuga Indians, whether they knew Zeisberger? As soon as they heard his name, they expressed much joy, and placing two fingers together, said: "We are one: are you also one with him?" Schmick answered, "We are brethren." They then went to the chapel, saw and heard what they never before had been witness to, and were powerfully impressed with the preaching of the gospel.

Beside the stated times for the daily service of the congregation, the missionaries were often called upon to preach the word of salvation in their dwellings; for the visitors seemed as if they never could be satisfied with hearing, so that frequently the missionaries had scarce time to eat or rest.

The Indians, wishing to live here in peace and safety, soon after their arrival sent messengers with a string of wampum to the Chief of Cajuga, to inform him of the kindness of the Governor of Pennsylvania, and of their settlement on the Susquehannah, where they desired to remain with their teachers. His answer was unexpected; for he proposed to remove them to the upper end of the

lake Cajuga. As it was evident that the Indians preferred living in Friedenshutten, four deputies were chosen, with whom Br. Zeisberger went in April to Cajuga. They arrived there on the 30th, and took up their lodging with the Chief, who knew Zeisberger from his former stay at Onondago. He received them kindly, but did not seem pleased with their message, and spoke rather contemptuously of the labour of the Brethren among his people; adding, that he had seen many Indians baptized by the French in Canada, but never found the least difference between them and the unbaptized. This made the deputies almost afraid to propose their message in council; but Br. Zeisberger encouraged them, by assuring them, that God was present also in this council, and would direct every thing according to His good pleasure. Of this they were fully convinced, for their message had the desired effect.

Not only was their request granted, but the council gave them a larger tract of land than they had desired, extending beyond Tiaogu; telling them, to make use of it as their own, and promising that the heathen Indians should not come and dwell upon it. They were allowed to have their teachers, and exhorted to be obedient to them; and finally a resolution was taken, on account of many lies being carried to and fro, that neither party should believe any evil report, without due examination. When the result of the negotiation was mentioned to the congregation, the joy was so general, that several exclaimed, "This is the Lord's doing, and a sure proof of his great love towards us!"

In consequence of a report that the great council of the nation disapproved of the grant made by the Cajuga Chief, Zeisberger and Senseman undertook a journey to Onondago, where they arrived on the 26th of October. At their request the council assembled the next day, and the English flag was displayed upon the council-house, in honour of the missionaries. The Chiefs inquired minutely concerning the establishment and constitution of Friedenshutten, expressing great regard for Zeisberger, whom they considered as belonging to the Iroquois. The proceedings of the council at Cajuga were now confirmed; and for the

first time the Brethren received legal permission to preach the Gospel in those countries possessed by the Indians The great council itself seemed to have no inclination at present to receive the Gospel. One of the council told Zeisberger, that lately a minister from New England came and offered to preach to them; but they had refused, saying, "that as soon as they chose it, they would let him know: for the present, he might return to his own home." This anecdote was purposely mentioned as a hint, that the Brethren should not attempt to carry the Gospel too far into the country belonging to the Iroquois.

In the year 1766 the inward and outward state of this settlement was truly blessed, and an extraordinary number of Indian visitors came from all parts. These were not only struck with the exterior regular appearance of the place, declaring, that it was the most beautiful and orderly Indian town they had ever seen, but they paid great attention to the Gospel, and its power in their hearts was often remarkably evident.

However, the visits from the heathen were not unattended with inconvenience, for frequent attempts were made by Indians to introduce the rum trade into Friedenshutten. An order was therefore found necessary that such people should be examined upon their arrival, to know whether they intended to stay all night, in which case their rum was immediately secured, and not delivered to them till the following morning, when they proceeded on their journey. But the white traders from Paxton refused to take their liquor away; saying, that they had a right to sell liquor where, and to whom they pleased; but the Indian Brethren, to whom the police of the place was committed, remaining firm by their resolution, they at length went off.

In this year a solemn embassy arrived in Friedenshutten, sent by the Delawares in Goshgoshunk on the Ohio. Their view was to establish a general peace among all the Indian nations. They therefore invited all "to lay hold of the chain of friendship," and declared all those who refused to do it, to be enemies. The Indians agreed to it

of course, giving them a string of wampum in token and confirmation of their desire to promote and share in the general peace.

Friedenshutten increased so fast, and the numbers who attended constantly to hear the Gospel were so great, that on January 2nd, 1767, they began to build a more spacious church, which was consecrated in the following month.

The strange Indians, who constantly attended, were of various tribes and nations, many were driven by the famine then prevailing to take refuge in the settlement; others preferred the road through Friedenshutten in their way to different parts of the Indian country, wishing to see a place so renowned for its hospitality. Thus at one time 75 Tuscaroras from Carolina, and at another 57 Nantikoks from Maryland came, driven by hunger, and stayed there some weeks. This proved an opportunity for them to hear the word of God, and several were on this occasion so far awakened, that they thanked God for the famine they had suffered, without which they should never have gone to Friedenshutten, nor heard the Gospel of salvation. This consideration made the Indians always willing to feed the hungry, and even to connive at the imposition of some, who ate up their provisions, leading an idle and profligate life, without ever attending to the word of God.

Their generosity was frequently followed by want, which they cheerfully bore, as true children of God, not tormented by the cares of this life, but content with little, relying upon the daily bread given them by their heavenly Father, who does not forget even the meanest of his creatures. Upon such an occasion a poor woman said: "I have been thinking how poor I am; I have nothing of my own; and where shall I get enough for myself and my child? This made me uneasy, and immediately I prayed thus to our Saviour: 'Forgive my care and anxiety about outward matters. Thou thyself hast been very poor in this world, and hast even not had as much of thine own as I have.' This thought comforted me, and my heart was satisfied."

Besides the war occasioned by the extraordinary number of visitors, the locusts did very great mischief to the

fields and plantations. The missionaries mention their swarms to have amounted to millions in number.

The chief means by which the Indians provided a livelihood for themselves and their families, was by hunting bears, elks and deer, and catching beavers, foxes and racoons. Another article of food was maple sugar.

In the mean time enemies were not wanting, in different parts, who were more particularly enraged at the missionaries, believing that they alone occasioned the Christian Indians to separate themselves from the rest, forming as it were a detached tribe, who would not enter into the customs peculiar to the Indians, and even endeavouring to make more proselytes. The Nantikoks of Zeninge threatened to kill Schmick, because he had, according to their expression, so many Indians in his arms, holding them fast, and trying to grasp more, and thus to rob them of their friends.

About Whitsuntide the small-pox broke out in Friedenshutten; and the same mode of proceeding was adopted as during the time the measles raged at Bethlehem. All the patients were immediately conveyed over the river into some houses fitted up for that purpose, and properly attended.

In autumn, the missionary David Zeisberger made a journey to the Ohio, hearing that some Indians in that part of the country were desirous to hear the Gospel. He set out in company with Anthony and John Papunhank, two Indian assistants, the whole congregation uniting in prayer for his preservation on this dangerous journey. His intention was to visit Goshgoshunk, though he received everywhere a very unfavourable account of the inhabitants. They had frequently to cross over plains many miles in length, overgrown with such high grass, that a man on horseback was completely covered by it; and when either dew or rain had fallen, the travellers were wet through. Oct. 6th they reached a forsaken Indian town. Br. Zeisberger observed with pleasure the first silver firs he had ever seen in North America, at one of the sources of the river Ohio. His Indian companions had never seen these trees before. The further they proceeded, the more horrid the wilderness appeared, and it cost them immense labour to

work their way through the thicket. Having thus proceeded four days through a country of so dreadful and uncouth an appearance, that the missionary was at a loss to find words to describe it, they met at length with a hut in the midst of the forest, in which they took up their night's lodging, having hitherto spent the nights in the open air, wrapped up in blankets, and suffering great inconvenience from the continual rains.

Upon their arrival at the first Senneka town, the appearance of a white man was so uncommon a sight to the inhabitants, that one of them immediately set out on horseback, to announce this to the Chief of the next town, near 30 miles off. Being convinced of the missionary's sincerity, this Chief would not prevent his proceeding to Goshgoshunk; but would only give him a serious caution, not to trust the inhabitants of that place, who had not their equals in wickedness and thirst for blood. Zeisberger answered: "That if they were really so wicked a people as described, then they stood so much the more in need of the Gospel of their Redeemer; but that, at all events, he did not fear them, as they could not injure him in the least without the permission of that God whom he served."

October 16th, our travellers arrived at Goshgoshunk; where, to their great surprise, they were well received and lodged in the house of one of John Papunhank's relations.

This town of the Delawares consisted of three villages, lying on the banks of the Ohio. The missionary lodged in the middle village, and soon after his arrival, sent his two companions to request of the inhabitants, that they, with their neighbours in the two other villages, would assemble, and hear the "great words" he had to tell them. He was much pleased to find here several persons who knew him from his first visit at Machwihilusing in 1763, where they had heard him preach. These people also remembered the order observed in the Brethren's meetings, and now, of their own accord, persuaded the men to place themselves on one side and the women on the other. The missionary felt great cheerfulness in preaching the Gospel for the first time in this wild country, being strengthened in spirit boldly to

declare, that life and salvation is to be found only in the death of our crucified Saviour.

The whole town of Goshgoshunk seemed to rejoice at the novelty of this visit. But Zeisberger found that the description of this people by the Senneka Chief was too true. He had never yet seen the abominations of heathenism practised to such a degree. In his report he makes use of these words: "Satan has here great power: he even seems to have established his throne in this place, and to be adored by the heathen; working uncontrolled in the children of disobedience." But he was grieved above measure at the abuse of the holy name of God, in the midst of their most shameful and diabolical superstitions. This proceeded from an Indian preacher called Wangomen, who frequently told the people, in his public orations, that he was at home . the side of God; walking in and out, so safe and sure, that neither sin nor Satan could hurt him in the least. At first he opposed Zeisberger's preaching, but afterwards, confessing his misery and ignorance, he joined the rest in requesting another visit. They returned to Friedenshutten on the 5th of November; and Zeisberger soon after set out for Bethlehem, to give an account of the situation of affairs on the Ohio.

In the mean time an Indian preacher, living at a distance from Goshgoshunk, hearing of Zeisberger's visit, and inquiring minutely into his doctrine without being able to gain satisfactory information, expressed great concern, adding, that it had been revealed to him in a dream, that none of the Indian preachers taught the true doctrine. Another message was therefore sent, earnestly desiring that a missionary might come and live at Goshgoshunk.

It had already been resolved that Zeisberger should go again to that place with Senseman and some Indians, and endeavour to establish a regular mission. They left Bethlehem in April, 1768, and the Rev. John Ettwein (afterwards consecrated a Bishop of the Church of the United Brethren) accompanied them to Friedenshutten. On the 9th of May they proceeded, partly by water, down the rivers Susquehannah, Tiaogu, and Ohio, and partly by

land across the country.* But near Tiaogu, a party of twenty captains came up with them, and endeavoured to compel them to return, because they had not previously obtained the consent of the Iroquois. Zeisberger boldly refused to comply, and having informed them of the aim of their journey, assured them, that every step should be taken to fulfil their duty to the Iroquois; with which the captains were at last satisfied. The travellers proceeded now with good courage. Those who went by land were obliged to pass through many fires in the forest, which rendered the air extremely hot, and filled it with smoke and suffocating exhalations. They lost several nights rest by the dreadful howlings, and even bold attacks of the wolves, who sometimes ventured so near their fires, that they were obliged to drive them away by pelting them with firebrands. After a journey of five weeks they arrived at Goshgoshunk, the inhabitants having sent a boat, laden with provisions, up the Ohio, to meet them. The joy on their arrival seemed general; the Chief Allemewi re-

* On this journey, Zeisberger and his companions experienced a remarkable preservation. They were kindly entertained at Wyoming by Mr. Ogden, a white trader, who spread a quantity of straw on the floor of an apartment for them to sleep upon. He warned them that several barrels of gunpowder were in this room, one or two of which were open; and they retired to rest, leaving the candle on the outside. A traveller, however, who accompanied them, prevailed on their host to allow him the candle to examine and dress a wound in his foot, promising to put it out as soon as he had finished his operation. The missionaries reminded him of the danger, but being much fatigued, lay down, and fell asleep. The traveller also, being weary, fell asleep, and left the light burning. In the morning Zeisberger called his brother missionary out of the house into the wood, and shewed him the candle: "My brother," said he, "had we not had the eye of Him upon us who never slumbereth nor sleepeth, we should all have this night been blown into the air, and no one would have known how it happened. I slept soundly, being extremely fatigued, and was in my first sleep, when I felt as if some one roused me with a violent shake. I sat up, and saw the wick of the candle hanging down on one side all in a flame, and the burning candle on the point of falling into the straw, which I was just in time to prevent. After that, I could not fall asleep again; but lay, silently thanking the Lord for the extraordinary preservation we had experienced, one fit of shuddering after the other seizing my whole frame, when I reflected on our danger."

ceived them with great cordiality, and the Indian preacher Wangomen gave them his house for their accommodation.

Zeisberger preached every day, held morning and evening meetings, and sung hymns in the Delaware language, which his new audience had never before heard. All these meetings were attended by great numbers, and it was curious to see so many assembled to hear the Gospel, with faces painted black and vermilion, and heads decorated with clusters of feathers and fox-tails, which were much in use among the young people.

The Brethren now built a loghouse for themselves at a short distance from the town. They also planted Indian corn, having received land ready cleared from the inhabitants, who also helped them in planting. The believing Indians, and some families from Goshgoshunk, erected their huts around the missionary's house, thus forming a small village separated from the town. To this a great number resorted, and there the Brethren ceased not, by day and night, to teach and preach Jesus Christ.

But a violent opposition soon arose, chiefly occasioned by the malice of the sorcerers, who pretended to possess a certain mysterious art, by which they could kill people in a manner unperceived, poison springs and rivers, and spread sickness throughout whole villages. They feared that if any of their party were converted, their secret would be disclosed, and thus they would be exposed to the just revenge of the populace. They instigated a number of adversaries, especially the old women, who went about publicly complaining, that the Indian corn was blasted or devoured by worms; that the deer and other game began to retire from the woods; that no chesnuts and bilberries would ripen, merely because Zeisberger preached a strange doctrine, and the Indians began to alter their manner of living and to believe on God. The sorcerers appointed sacrifices to appease the wrath of those spirits who were offended by the presence of the Brethren, and offered hogs by way of atonement. One Indian insinuated that the white people enslaved all whom they baptized. Others spread a report that some New England Indians had been

on the other side of the great ocean, and brought a letter from the King of England, cautioning the Indians against following or believing the Brethren living at Bethlehem, for that they would lead them straight to hell.

Besides these and other evil reports and false accusations, the Chief in Zoneschio was much enraged, and advised the people of Goshgoshunk to send Zeisberger away. "If you do not follow my advice (said he) you may possibly find him some day lying dead by the way-side." Many secret messages, likewise, arrived from the Iroquois, urging the inhabitants either to banish or kill the missionaries. A sorcerer also was commissioned to confound Zeisberger in the presence of all the people; but his aim being frustrated, he retired with shame. A heathen preacher threatened that next summer the sun should stand perpendicularly over their heads, and burn and destroy all the Indian corn in the land. The adversaries became daily more outrageous, and sometimes so much disturbed the house of the missionary, that he was obliged to desist from preaching; but the Chief Allemewi remained a firm defender of the Gospel.

Wangomen, who had hitherto been a silent hearer, and behaved with great kindness to the Brethren, now threw off the mask, going from house to house, and prohibiting the inhabitants of Goshgoshunk to attend the meetings of the baptized. Several, fearing the reproach of men, stayed away, or came only by night to avoid observation. Others stood without, hearing in secret, to take, as it were, the word of God by stealth. Young people were forbidden by their parents to visit the missionaries, and parents would willingly have come, but were prevented by their children. Those who went boldly to the meetings were abused, and persecuted in various ways. Some were even driven from their own houses, and took refuge among the Brethren, through whose intercession they were received and protected by the Chief Allemewi in his own dwelling. Here the words of our Saviour were literally fulfilled: "A man's foes shall be they of his own household." Matt. x. 36. The missionaries, to use their own expression, seemed to

live in a close and pernicious atmosphere; for they saw themselves encompassed with bitter enemies, who wished daily to take away their lives. Even many of those who had shown the greatest joy upon their arrival, were so far changed, that they were ready to stone them. Some advised openly to kill the white people. Others demanded, that not only the missionaries, but all the baptized Indians, should be put to death and thrown into the Ohio; and the friends of the Brethren were afraid of being murdered in the night. Two Indians even entered into a covenant to kill the missionaries. One evening several disagreeable visitors made their appearance, at a late hour, with an intent to murder them, but had not the courage to execute their bloody design. The Brethren, therefore, thought themselves no longer safe when alone in their house, but always kept some of the baptized Indians with them as a guard.

Notwithstanding these troubles, they resolved not to quit their post; being firmly resolved, in spite of the rage of Satan, to preach the word of life, in humility and meekness, relying upon the Lord for safety and defence; and to the praise of his holy name it must be owned, that at this trying juncture the missionaries were so peculiarly strengthened in faith, that no trials could conquer their confidence. The greatest harmony subsisted between them and the believing Indians, and they mutually exhorted each other to possess their souls in patience, and, in the midst of danger and persecution, to prove, by their walk and conversation, what spirit they were of.

The Brethren were also greatly encouraged by a visit from an Indian woman, who, with many tears, described the effect produced in her by the word of God, and how she had obtained grace to believe that Jesus Christ was her God and Saviour. The blind Chief Allemewi, likewise, now publicly declared that he intended to believe on Jesus and to live unto him. Thus the Brethren saw that their labour was not in vain in the Lord, and covenanted anew, to suffer all things, yea death itself, for the sake of Jesus and his Gospel.

It is remarkable that at this time the rum trade was entirely abandoned; neither Indians nor white people were suffered to bring it into the town.

The inhabitants of Goshgoshunk were at length divided into two parties, one of which opposed the Gospel with all their might, and the other was so much attached to it as to declare, that they would rather quit Goshgoshunk, and build a town in some other place, than be deprived of it. Light and darkness now began to separate from each other. Those who looked for a Saviour dismissed their fears, and attended the meetings publicly and diligently, not suffering the severe weather to prevent them. For this they were exceedingly hated by the opposite party, who called them "Sunday Indians," or *Shwonnaks*, that is, white people, the most opprobrious name they could invent.

In October, 1768, Zeisberger and Senseman made a journey of three weeks to the Chief of the Sennekas in Zoneschio, to give him and his council a just idea of their dwelling and preaching among the Indians of the Ohio. The Chief Allemewi sent two deputies to accompany them, with a request to be allowed a settlement on the Venango river. They were every where well received; but the unfriendly Chief of Zoneschio, whose assent was indispensably necessary, being absent, the affair remained undetermined, and the tedious and dangerous journey of the Brethren proved in vain.

CHAPTER XI.

In February, 1768, Friedenshutten was again disturbed, intelligence having been received that a white man had murdered ten Indians near Shomokin—four men, four women, and two children. The Brethren were exceedingly alarmed, fearing that the Indian nations would soon join to revenge this horrid act of cruelty. Government immediately issued a proclamation, offering a reward of 200*l.* for the apprehension of the murderer of the ten Indians, promising to punish him with death, and sent this declaration with two strings of wampum to all the Indians living

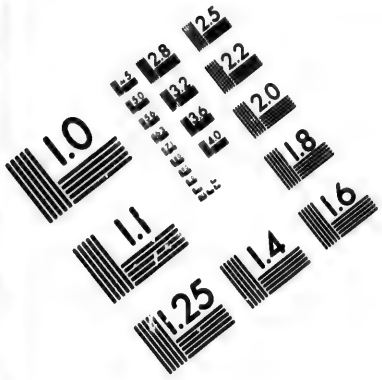
on the Susquehannah, desiring that they would not break the peace. Soon after, a special message was sent to the Indians at Friedenshutten, by Sir William Johnson, desiring that if they knew any of the relations of those persons murdered near Shomokin, they would send them to him, that he might dry up their tears, comfort their afflicted hearts, and satisfy them respecting all their grievances. Sir William also invited the Chiefs of the Iroquois and other Indian nations, living on the Susquehannah and the Ohio, to an amicable convention.

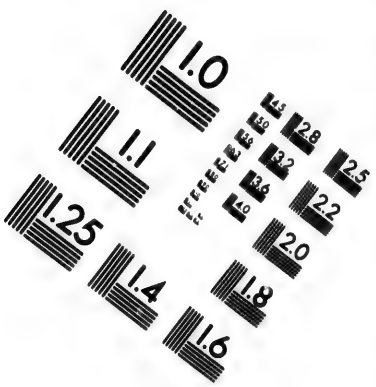
Peace and friendship were thus re-established between the English and Indians; and the Iroquois having settled their disputes with the Cherokees, all fear of an Indian war vanished, and the minds of the people were set at rest. The so-called King of the Cherokees was led in solemn pomp through the whole country of the Iroquois, accompanied by the Oneida Chief: they also came to Friedenshutten, when the latter declared the satisfaction which he and the whole council at Onondago felt, that the Indians here learned to know God, and had teachers residing among them, to instruct them in his ways.

The joy felt by the Indians at the restoration of peace was somewhat lessened by an unexpected account, received at this time, that the Iroquois had sold all the country eastward of the Ohio, in which Friedenshutten was included, to the English; though it had been formally ceded to the Christian Indians in 1765.

Among the various places which were visited by the Brethren of Friedenshutten, was a town about 30 miles higher up the Susquehannah, called Chechshequannink, in which a great awakening took place. This was occasioned by the account given by those who had been at Friedenshutten, and related with energy what they had seen and heard. At the repeated request of all the inhabitants, the Brethren resolved to send a missionary to reside among them, having first obtained permission from the great council at Onondago.

February 4th, 1769, Br. Rothe went to Chechshequannink, and preached the day following to all the inhabitants,





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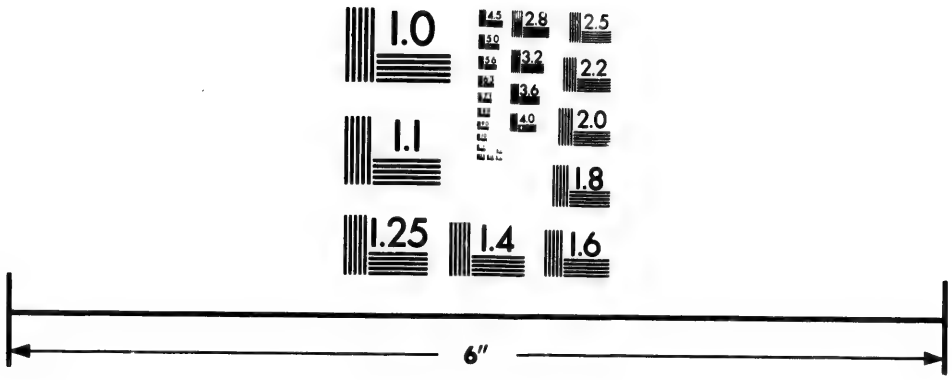

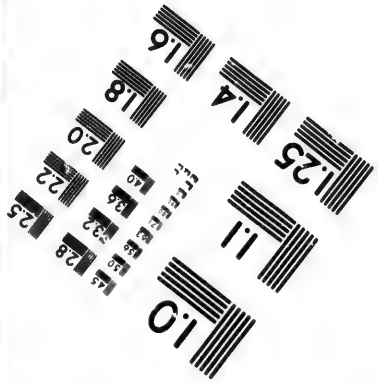

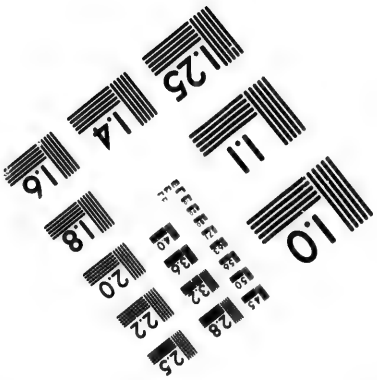

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who were eager to hear. Those who came with their faces painted and their caps adorned with tinkling bells, were, in a friendly manner, desired by their own countrymen first to wash their faces and take off their bells. In March two Indian brethren were sent to assist the missionary in the instruction of the people.

About half a mile from Chechshequannink the savages used at stated times to keep their feasts of sacrifice. On these occasions they roved about in the neighbourhood, like so many evil spirits, making most extraordinary noises; but the preaching of the Gospel continued uninterrupted, and the power of the Spirit of God was made manifest in the conduct of the hearers. An Indian thus expressed himself: "Whenever I saw a man shed tears, I used to doubt his being a man. I would not have wept, if my enemies had even cut the flesh from my bones, so hard was my heart at that time; that I now weep, is of God, who has softened the hardness of my heart." It appeared for some time, as if all the people in the town and neighbourhood of Chechshequannink would turn to the Lord.

Persecution, however, soon arose; and many of the chiefs united with the sorcerers in using all their influence to prevent the spread of the Gospel. But in the midst of much opposition the missionary had the joy to see the chief, James Davis, make a public profession of the faith. He was baptized on the 18th of May; and others were soon partakers of the same grace; their cheerful countenances and godly walk fully proving the true conversion of their hearts. The baptized conversed of their own accord with the heathen visitors, concerning the power of the Gospel, and frequently made an abiding impression upon them by their energetic and experimental declarations.

The work of God in Friedenshutten, flourished uninterruptedly throughout the year 1769. The believers grew evidently in the grace and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and many of their visitors were awakened from the sleep of sin.

The missionaries rejoiced particularly to see industry, diligence, a desire to learn, and a benevolent behaviour

towards strangers, become universal. A Chief residing on the Ohio, having heard many reports concerning Friedenshutten, came purposely to inform himself of the truth. He afterwards said: "I had heard, that when strange Indians come to you, you pay no regard to them, and that you are a disdainful set of people. But now I am convinced that this is a falsehood, and therefore I will not believe any evil report of this place."

Whenever any Chiefs came to Friedenshutten, the missionaries invited them to dinner, especially the Chiefs of the Iroquois; and being unaccustomed to such hospitable treatment from the generality of the white people, it made a good impression upon their minds, and was of great service to the Indians by removing misapprehensions, and giving the missionaries an opportunity of conversing familiarly with the Chiefs, and of hearing and answering their scruples and remarks. They were very attentive even to the smallest circumstances; for instance, the geometrical measurement of the fields made some suspicious, who looked upon this as a mysterious contrivance to secure the land as their own property. The church and the missionary's house being shown them, some paintings, representing the nativity and the crucifixion, engaged their attention, and gave the missionaries an opportunity briefly to relate to them the history of our Lord, which produced in some a salutary thoughtfulness. Many became friends and defenders of the Brethren, and were reviled for it. Thus a Chief of the Nantikok tribe, a prudent and sensible Indian, being convinced of the truth of the Gospel, and behaving well to the Brethren, was deprived of his office by his own people, but the Chief in Onondago reinstated him with honour. Soon after this he paid a visit in Friedenshutten, and said: "My people have indeed taken away my belts and strings of wampum; but they were obliged to leave me that understanding which God has given me; and I may still make use of it, as I please, to do good."

The Brethren now learned with certainty from the Chiefs, that the Iroquois had sold their ground to the

English. They therefore thought proper to send some deputies from Friedenshutten to Philadelphia, to obtain a new grant of this land from the Governor of Pennsylvania. His Excellency received them and the petition of the Indians very kindly, and returned them an answer in writing, in which he promised that they should not be disturbed in their possessions, and that he had ordered the surveyors not to take up any land within five miles of Friedenshutten. Several attempts were, however, made by Europeans to obtain possession of it, which with great difficulty were defeated.

Towards autumn the Indians began to feel some outward distress. The little provision they had left, was consumed by visitors and travellers. It was very affecting to see families of five or six children without food, obliged to go ten or more miles from home in quest of bilberries. Happily no one perished with hunger, nor did any one lack his daily bread. They frequently experienced that the Lord liveth, and graciously provides for his people in every time of need: the barrel of meal wasted not; neither did the cruse of oil fail.

At Goshgoshunk, in 1769, Zeisberger and Senseman had reason both for joy and sorrow. Six families and three widows remained firm, desiring to know Jesus Christ, and neither contempt nor persecution could shake them. Many savages also became concerned for their salvation, and took refuge among the Brethren. One of them related what trouble he had taken to attain happiness, strictly following Wangomen's prescriptions, offering many sacrifices, and paying him twelve fathoms of wampum; but all in vain. He therefore desired to know the true way to God, for he wished to be saved. Such souls the Brethren received with particular kindness, pointing out to them Jesus Christ as the only way to obtain forgiveness of sin.

The powers of darkness however soon exerted themselves with renewed force against this growing mission. Wangomen appointed many feasts of sacrifice, to keep the people from attending the meetings of the missionary. His party began now to rave in a very furious manner, and

to commit the most heathenish abominations. At length the rum trade was forcibly introduced; and this the Brethren and the believing Indians considered as a sign, given by the Lord himself, that they should stay no longer in Goshgoshunk, and therefore they began to build boats for their departure.

As they were thus employed, a Senneka Chief came with two others, and prohibited the missionary, by a black belt of wampum, to leave the town; by another string he laid a strict injunction upon all the inhabitants to refrain from going to hear Zeisberger's sermons. But the missionary stepping boldly forward, withstood the Chief with great confidence, and took occasion to bear a powerful testimony of the love of God revealed unto man in Christ Jesus, before the whole assembly. Both he and the Chief Allemewi declared they should certainly quit Goshgoshunk, and retire fifteen miles further, to a place called Lawunakhannek, on the opposite bank of the Ohio.

This they soon after accomplished. On the 7th of April the missionaries and all the converted Indians left Goshgoshunk, filled with thanks and praises to God for having miraculously preserved them thus far, even in the midst of their enemies. They were accompanied by Allemewi and all those who were concerned about their eternal salvation.

Wangomen now gained great ascendancy in Goshgoshunk, meeting with no resistance. His joy soon got the better of his prudence; he frequently preached in a state of intoxication, and his hearers were obliged to seize and bind him; at last they became ashamed of their teacher.

Meanwhile Zeisberger continued to preach the Gospel in Lawunakhannek, and his Indian assistants, Anthony and Abraham, were his faithful fellow-labourers. The latter made it his peculiar province to encourage and instruct the newly awakened, and the unbaptized Indians who lived in the place. Anthony was diligent in attending and conversing with the visitors. He endeavoured in various ways to serve and edify them, and preached the Gospel with great boldness. At the close of one of his discourses, he observed: "I have not received these things in a

dream. The Indians may have revelations and signs in dreams, but I was in my right senses and broad awake when I felt and experienced the power of the Gospel in my heart." This saying made a great impression upon many of the savages. They said, "If any thing be true, it is this doctrine; surely the Brethren teach the right way to happiness."

The most distinguished character among the numerous visitors was Glikkikan, an eminent captain aud warrior, counsellor and speaker of the Delaware Chief in Kaskaskunk. He came purposely to dispute with and silence Br. Zeisberger, as he had formerly served the Romish priests in Canada. He had well considered what he intended to reply, by way of confounding the Brethren, and came, as he thought, completely armed at all points. When he arrived at Lawunakhannek, Anthony invited Glikkikan and the Chiefs to dine with him, after which he addressed them in the following manner: "My friends, listen to me! I have great things to tell you. God created the heavens and the earth, and every thing therein, and there is nothing existing that was not made by him." He then paused for some time, and proceeded: "He also created us; and who is there among you that knows his Creator? I tell you the truth, no one knows his Creator by his reason alone; for we are all fallen from God, and rendered blind by sin." Here he made a longer pause, to give them time to consider his words, and proceeded: "This God, who created all things, came into the world, and became a man like unto us; only he knew no sin. But why did he come down from heaven and become a man? Consider this a little." After a long pause he added: "He became a man and took upon him our nature, that he might shed his blood for the remission of our sins, and suffer death on the cross, by which he has purchased for us everlasting life and happiness, and delivered us from eternal condemnation." Thus he continued to disclose the whole will of God concerning our salvation in short sentences, interrupted by pauses for contemplation. Glikkikan's heart was captivated; he felt the power of this

precious word, and confessed before the Chiefs of Goshgoshunk, that all which they had now heard, was true. He then attended the usual daily meeting, and was exceedingly struck by seeing, when full awake, what he declared to have beheld in a vision, several years before. He had dreamt that he came to a place, where a number of Indians were assembled in a large room. They wore their hair plain, and no rings in their noses. In the midst of them he discovered a short white man, and the Indians beckoning him to come in, he entered and was presented by the white man with a book, who desired him to read: on his replying, "I cannot read," the white man said: "After you have been with us some time, you will learn to read it." From this time he frequently told his hearers, that there were certainly white people somewhere, who knew the right way to God, for he had seen them in a dream. Therefore, when he came hither, and saw the Indians, and the short white man, Br. Zeisberger, exactly answering to the figure of him he saw in his dream, he was astonished. Upon his return to Kaskaskunk, he honestly related the unexpected result of his undertaking, and delivered a noble testimony concerning the Brethren and their labour among the heathen.

As to their maintenance, the inhabitants of Lawunakhannek met with great difficulties in the beginning. When their Indian corn was consumed, they could buy no more throughout the whole country. Zeisberger and Senseman, therefore, with some Indian Brethren, travelled to Pittsburg in July, and were fortunate enough to procure a further supply.

Here they found the people in great consternation on account of the treacherous conduct of the Senneka Indians, who had committed great depredations; and it was believed that all the Indian nations had broken the articles of peace, and therefore the plantations around this fort were all deserted. Zeisberger, who was better acquainted with the situation of affairs in the Indian country, induced the governor and officers in Pittsburg to lay aside their resolution of considering and treating all Indians as ene-

mies, and advised them to send delegates to the chiefs of the other Indian tribes, to complain of the injury done by the Sennekas, and to demand satisfaction. He likewise advised, that an agent of Indian affairs might be appointed in Pittsburg, who should make himself acquainted with their situation, constitution, and usages, preserve a friendly intercourse, hear their complaints against the white people, refer those of the latter to a court of justice, and endeavour to settle all disputes in an amicable manner. This advice was well received in Pittsburg, and the good effects of it soon became evident. Thus the missionary had the satisfaction to do an essential service to the whole country.

The white Brethren at Lawunakhannek having hitherto been content to live in a hunting hut, now built a chapel and dwelling-house. Soon after they gathered in their harvest, and had a very rich crop, which put the heathen publicly to shame, as they had frequently prophesied that the crops of all those who believed in Jesus would fail.

In December they baptized the first-fruits of this country—a married couple and their child. The blind chief Allemewi was also baptized on Christmas-day, when he received the name of Solomon. He could not sufficiently express what the Lord had done for his soul. He said, "Not only my heart is at ease, but my body is even restored to health." Several others begged for baptism; and Zeisberger had the satisfaction to see, even in this country, that no opposition is so fierce, and no enemy so powerful, that may not be overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and by perseverance in boldly preaching the word of the cross.

Both in Friedenshutten and Chechshequannink the preaching of the Gospel was uninterruptedly continued, during the year 1770, with power and great blessing; the missionaries being frequently encouraged in an extraordinary degree, when they saw themselves surrounded by such numbers of heathen, and bore witness of the power of that blood, which was shed for them also. For the young people, two new spacious school-houses were built at Friedenshutten; and to see their good and obedient

behaviour, and their diligence in learning their lessons, was to the missionaries a sufficient reward for all the trouble of instructing them.

The Iroquois during this year attempted to remove the Indians to the neighbourhood of Assimssink, where they all should join in building a large town; but the proposal was rejected by the Christian Indians, who took this occasion to remonstrate with the Iroquois on their treacherous behaviour in selling their land. The Iroquois then sent another message to the Indians at Freidenshutten, with two Spanish dollars, as their share of the money received for the land sold to the English. But they returned the two dollars, saying, "We had no land to sell; it is your land, and the money is likewise yours; take it, therefore, for we do not desire to reap the benefit of your labours."

At Lawunakhannek, in the beginning of 1770, several heathen, who did not resist the Spirit of God, were added to the fellowship of the believers by holy baptism. A meeting was held with the baptized alone, to remind them of the great grace bestowed upon them, and of the fruits of faith, which were expected in consequence of it. This had a blessed effect, and it was not long before the new baptized became active and zealous in the propagation of the truth; and many a visitor left the place with sentiments widely different from those which he brought with him. A strange Indian was conveying a barrel of rum to Goshgoshunk for sale, but calling at Lawunakhannek by the way he heard the gospel, and resolved to stay with the Brethren and alter his manner of living. He returned the barrel of rum to the trader, declaring that he would neither drink nor sell any more rum, as it was against his conscience, and begged him to take the rum back, adding, that if he refused, he would pour it into the Ohio. The trader and other white people present, were greatly amazed, assured him that this was the first barrel of rum they had ever seen returned by the Indians, and took it back without further objection.

About this time a singular circumstance happened, which occasioned another emigration. The Sennekas having

broken the treaty, so lately made with the Cherokees, murdered several of the latter. The Cherokees therefore caught two Sennekas, cut off all their fingers, and sent them home with the following message:—"We had made a perpetual peace with you, and you with us; but the treaty was scarce concluded when you broke it again: you had promised us to hold fast the chain of friendship, but you have not done it. Now because you will not hold the chain of friendship with your hands, we will cut them off, and send you herewith a specimen." Upon this, hostilities commenced, and as the Brethren and their Indians wished to withdraw from the vicinity of the war, and the heathen, who moved to Lawunakhannek to hear the Gospel, increased so fast that they began to want room, it was at last resolved to accept of the friendly offer repeatedly made by the chiefs in Kaskaskunk, and to settle in the neighbourhood of that town.

This resolution occasioned much joy at Kaskaskunk, especially to Glikkikan; and when the Brethren informed the chiefs at Goshgoshunk of their intention, the council sent for them, gave them full liberty to depart, and begged Zeisberger to forget all former injuries and the dangers he had been exposed to in their town, owning, that at that time a band of murderers had sworn to take his life.* They also adopted the Brethren as members of the Monsy tribe of the Delaware nation, so that they should never be considered as other white people, in case of a war with the latter, but be treated as native Delawares.

April 17th, 1770, the congregation of Lawunakhannek set out in 16 canoes, passing down the river Ohio by Pittsburg to the mouth of the Beaver Creek; which they entered, and proceeded up to the falls, where they had to unload and transport their goods and canoes by land. One

* One of the savages, who had determined last year to murder the Brethren, could not forget it, but resolved to do it this year in January. The better to accomplish his design he first got drunk, but losing his way in coming to Lawunakhannek, was overtaken by the night and fell asleep in the wood. In the morning when he arose sober, he lost his courage and returned.

of these carrying places detained them two days. The frequent repetition of this troublesome work caused them to be very thankful when they met Glikkikan with some horses from Kaskaskunk for their use. They arrived on the 3rd of May in the country where they intended to build their new settlement, and were welcomed by Pakanke the chief with the usual Indian formalities. Captain Glikkikan could now no longer bear to live at Kaskaskunk, but desired leave to dwell with the Brethren. The latter exhorted him well to consider, that in so doing he would exchange an honourable office, power, and friends, for reproach, contempt, and persecution. But his declarations were so firm and sincere, that it was impossible for them to refuse his request.

The Indians were now diligent at work in their plantations, and dwelt in the mean time in bark huts. They also built a large hut for the meetings of the congregation, which were numerously attended by the people from Kaskaskunk. The settlement made by the Brethren here was called Friedenstadt, the *Town of Peace.*

June 12th, the first baptism was administered in this place, to the wife of the blind chief Solomon. She had formerly opposed her husband with great violence, but afterwards became thoughtful, and anxious to obtain salvation. Glikkikan and others were struck with wonder and amazement at this solemnity, and the whole assembly was powerfully pervaded by the sensation of the presence of God.

Glikkikan's retiring from Kaskaskunk to Friedenstadt, occasioned universal dissatisfaction. His friends spared no pains to prevent it by kind persuasions; but finding them useless, they railed most bitterly against him, calling him a sorcerer, by which they even endangered his life. The old chief, Pakanke, who had always employed him as his speaker, and looked upon him as his right hand, altered his friendly behaviour towards the Brethren, and denied his having invited them into the country, charging Glikkikan with it. But at this time a very bad epidemical disease prevailed among the Delawares, which took off great num-

bers, and was ascribed by the heathen to the power of magic. Many of the chiefs and counsellors conceived that they could not remedy this evil in any other way than by unanimously resolving to receive and believe the word of God; and a message to that effect was sent to Pakanke, which induced him to withdraw his opposition to the Gospel.

It having been asserted that as soon as the Indians changed their mode of living they likewise withdrew their contributions towards the support of the affairs of the nation, and would no more assist in furnishing the usual quantity of wampum, allowed for the use of the chiefs; the missionaries thought it necessary to procure a formal declaration from the believing Indians, in all places, to this effect:—"That though they never intended to interfere, either with the affairs of state or with the wars of the savages, yet they were always willing to bear their share of the public burden in times of peace, and to contribute towards the expenses attending all measures adopted for the welfare of the nation, which were not meant to molest either the white people or the Indian nations; but upon this positive condition, that the chiefs, counsellors, and captains of all the different tribes, should never claim the least authority over the missionaries, but leave them at full liberty to go where they pleased, and in case of their return to Bethlehem to send other Brethren in their room." This declaration gave universal satisfaction, was answered by all the chiefs in very civil terms, and by some by formal embassies, and prevented much enmity, to which the believing Indians and their teachers might have otherwise been exposed. At Goshgoshunk, Wangomen was appointed deputy, and sent by the council with an answer, couched in the most courteous terms, to Friedenstadt, and thence to Pakanke at Kaskaskunk, to inform him and his council of the adoption of the Brethren into the Monsy tribe, desiring him to send the message forward to the rest of the Delawares.

In the mean time the Indians built a regular settlement on the west side of the Beaver Creek; and the statutes of

the congregation were made known to the inhabitants, and every thing regulated as in Friedenshutten.

In October, the missionary Youngman and his wife arrived from Bethlehem, to have the care of the congregation at Friedenstadt, and brought a string of wampum from Colonel Croghan in Pittsburg to the chief Pakanke, desiring him to receive the missionary and his wife with kindness, as they came merely from benevolent motives to promote the welfare and prosperity of the Indians. This unsolicited kind interference of the Colonel gave much pleasure to our Indians and their teachers, and made a good impression upon Pakanke. Br. Senseman returned to Bethlehem in November, having been a faithful and useful assistant to Br. Zeisberger, with whom he willingly shared distress and danger.

December the 24th, the missionaries had the happiness to baptize the Captain Glikkikan, and a chief called Genaskund, who retired with them from Goshgoshunk; they were the most humble and contrite among all their hearers, confessing with great openness their sinful and abominable manner of living among the heathen, and praying God for mercy and forgiveness as the most undeserving prodigals.

CHAPTER XII.

In the spring of 1771, Wangomen came to the Brethren at Friedenshutten with a message from the principal chiefs of the Delaware nation, to invite them and the congregation in Chechshequannink to the Alleghany, that is to the country on the Ohio. But the Indians distrusted the message. Some time after the chief Netawatwees in Gekelemukpechunk repeated this invitation in a pressing manner, which occasioned them to consider it more particularly; especially as the Wyondats had likewise invited them to move to their land on the Ohio, assuring them that they would not sell the ground under their feet as the Iroquois had done.

However, no resolution was taken till a visitation had been held of all the Brethren's settlements in North Ame-

rica, by Christian Gregor and John Loretz, who had arrived from Europe for that purpose. They were accompanied by Bishop Seidel. Great was their joy and thankfulness to see the flock of Christian Indians, who had been supported under so many and heavy trials, and miraculously preserved, although exposed to so many threatening and imminent dangers.

Zeisberger was soon after called from Friedenstadt to Bethlehem to attend a conference, in which it was resolved, —chiefly on account of the increase of European settlers near Friedenshutten, and the disturbance occasioned by the Sennekas in their vicinity—to advise the Indian congregations to accept of the proposal repeatedly made to them to remove to the Ohio, and to consider it as proceeding from a gracious direction of the providence of God.

Zeisberger upon his return mentioned this advice to the Indians at Friedenshutten and Chechshequannink. They agreed to adopt it, and to remove in the following spring, first going to Friedenstadt. Some families went thither immediately, in order to lay out plantations of Indian corn, both for themselves and the congregations that were to follow them.

During these transactions, two Indians came to Friedenshutten, and asserted that John Papunhank was a dealer in poison, and that he had been the occasion of the late sudden deaths of several people, and of those epidemical disorders which raged in the country some time ago. By this wicked lie the whole settlement was alarmed, and in great confusion for a whole week. The chiefs of Zeninge were appealed to, and on examining into the origin of the accusation, the innocence of John Papunhank was rendered as notorious as the diabolical malice of the calumniators.

In the mean time many people followed the Brethren from Goshgoshunk on the Ohio to the Beaver Creek, some of whom settled in Kaskaskunk; others, who showed an earnest wish to be converted, and promised to live in conformity to the rules of the congregation, obtained leave to live at Friedenstadt.

In 1771, the Brethren were troubled by the most daring lies, propagated by the savages, who even counterfeited letters and messages from the Chiefs to them. A very peremptory message of this kind was brought to Friedenstadt, as coming from the Chief and council at Gekelemukpechunk; demanding that an Indian woman, lately baptized by the Brethren, should be sent back immediately, or she should be taken away by force. This message appearing dangerous in its consequences, Zeisberger set out on the 5th of March, with three Indian Brethren for Gekelemukpechunk. On his arrival he requested a meeting of the council, and read to them the letter. It was then discovered that one of the counsellors present had written it on his own authority, and signed it with two fictitious names. Being thus detected, he was publicly confounded; the whole council expressed great indignation at the contents of the letter, and agreed perfectly with the declaration of the missionary and the Indian Brethren, that as they neither could nor would detain any one in their settlement against his will, either by persuasion or force, so no one ought to be compelled to leave them; the Indians being altogether a free people, who in all things might act according to their own minds. Zeisberger stayed several days in this place, and found many attentive hearers, but likewise many avowed enemies, who, though they did not publicly contradict the missionary himself, raged with immoderate fury against his Indian assistants and their testimony. This arose from the insinuations of the Indian prophets, who had strenuously recommended emetics, as a sure mode of cleansing from sin. The missionary endeavoured to convince the people, that though an emetic might benefit their stomachs, yet it could never cleanse their hearts; but that the blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God, applied in faith to our sin-sick souls, was alone able to cleanse and change them.

He had scarcely left Gekelemukpechunk, when a renowned heathen preacher arrived and declared that the missionary was even known to the white people as a noted seducer of the Indians, who, whenever he had drawn a

large party aside, sent them over the great ocean, and sold them for slaves, where they were harnessed to the plough and whipped on to their work. By these lying insinuations he gained such an ascendancy over the timid minds of the Indians, that he soon became the leader of a large party, and the Brethren were convinced, that to plant the Gospel in this country, to which they were now invited, would be attended with great difficulties. Zeisberger says in one of his letters, "Here God must work a miracle, for Satan has many strong holds, which he has well fortified."

Zeisberger, who by this time was well known among various Indian tribes, was a marked object of their hatred and malice, and frequently in danger of being shot. Some malicious people came one evening very late to Friedenstadt, and would compel the inhabitants to get drunk. When they found all their efforts vain, they threatened to murder first the teachers and then the whole congregation.

Notwithstanding all these troubles, the work of God prevailed and increased in Friedenstadt, and the congregation grew in grace and number. May the 27th, 1771, the foundation stone of the chapel was laid, and on the 20th of June the building was dedicated unto the Lord. The number of constant hearers daily increased; among these there was one who had lost his scalp in the war, and one of the same party which destroyed the Brethren's house on the Mahony in the year 1755.

After much opposition and hesitation, the Chief Pakanke, hitherto an enemy of the Gospel, resolved at last to go to Friedenstadt. He stayed there several days, heard the Gospel with great attention, and even exhorted his children to go to the Brethren, hearken to their words, and believe on Jesus.

October 21st, Br. Heckewelder, who was appointed assistant missionary, arrived safe at Friedenstadt.

As the enmity of the greater part of the inhabitants of Kaskaskunk and other savage neighbours rather increased, and the latter encroached more and more upon the borders of Friedenstadt, the believing Indians petitioned the Chief and council at Kaskaskunk for protection, but were told,

that their request could not be granted. At the same time they were invited by the Chiefs and council at Gekelemukpechunk, to settle in their country, near the river Muskingum, upon whatever tracts of land they might choose. It was therefore deemed expedient, that Zeisberger should view the country on the Muskingum, fix upon a spot suitable for a settlement, and then arrange every thing relating to this affair with the Chiefs. He accordingly set out on the 11th of March, 1772, with a few Indian Brethren, and on the 16th discovered a large tract of land situated not far from the banks of the Muskingum, about thirty miles from Gekelemukpechunk, with a good spring, a small lake, good planting grounds, much game, and every other convenience for the support of an Indian colony. This place was about 70 miles from Lake Erie, and 75 miles west of Friedenstadt. It appeared, that formerly a large fortified Indian town stood on this spot, some ramparts, and the ruins of three Indian forts being still visible. After this discovery he went to Gekelemukpechunk, and informed the council that the converted Indians had thankfully accepted of their invitation, desiring that the tract of land he had just now discovered might be given to them. In answer to this request he heard with great pleasure, that this was the very spot of ground destined by the Chiefs and council for them. They also determined, in a solemn manner, that all the lands, from the entrance of the Gekelemukpechunk Creek into the river Muskingum to Tuscarawi should belong to the converted Indians, and that no other Indians should be permitted to settle upon them: further, that all Indians dwelling on the borders of this country, should be directed to behave peaceably towards them and their teachers, and neither disturb their worship, nor prevent people from going to them to hear the word of God.

Zeisberger praised the Lord for his gracious help in the execution of this important commission, and the Christian Indians, on his return to Friedenstadt, were uncommonly rejoiced by the account of his success.

Five families were now appointed to begin the new set-

tlement, and Zeisberger set out with them on the 14th of April. They arrived at the new land on the Muskingum on the 3rd of May. The day following they marked out their plantations, erected field-huts, and were all diligently employed in clearing land and planting.

Upon the news of the arrival of the Brethren in Gekelemukpechunk and its neighbourhood, the enemies of the Gospel were so much alarmed that many of them left the place, not being able to bear a doctrine so directly opposite to their heathenish abominations and sinful manner of living. A neighbouring chief even forsook his village, and with all his people moved into a distant country.

Br. Zeisberger began immediately to preach the Gospel in this new settlement, to which he gave the name of Shon-brun (or *the Beautiful Spring*). Many attentive hearers came from Gekelemukpechunk and its neighbourhood, and some were so captivated by the word of the Gospel, that before any houses could be built, they earnestly begged leave to stay and settle. This was granted, but their relations soon came and wanted to take them away by force. By this opportunity, however, they likewise heard the Gospel, and felt the power of the word of God so forcibly, that they went away with impressions very different to those they brought with them. A visitor declared, that he had been seeking the way to salvation many years, and that whenever he found Indians who appeared to know more than himself, he gave them presents, and belts of wampum, hoping that they would instruct him, yet hitherto he had not been able to learn with certainty, how he might be saved. Isaac (Glikkikan) told him, that he now might find what he had so long been seeking in vain: nor need he bring any presents, for they would instruct him for nothing.

In the mean time the congregations in Friedenshutten and Chechshequannink prepared for their emigration. Previous to their departure, the missionary Schmick, who had spent many years in the service of the Indian congregation, with unremitting faithfulness, obtained leave to return to Bethlehem to rest some time from his labours. The mis-

sionary John Rothe, and his wife, were appointed to attend the Indians on their journey, and accepted of this call with pleasure.

May 23rd, Br. Ettwein arrived from Bethlehem at Friedenshutten to accompany that congregation on their way to Friedenstadt, and brought several presents from the Brethren in Bethlehem to the Indians, which were useful to them on the journey.

June 11th, all being ready to depart, the congregation met for the last time at Friedenshutten, when the missionary reminded them of the great favours and blessings received from God in this place, and then offered up praises and thanksgivings to him, with fervent supplications for his peace and protection on the journey. The company consisted of 241 persons from Friedenshutten and Chechshequannink.

Ettwein conducted those who went by land, and Rothe those by water, who were the greater number. The tediousness of this journey was a practical school of patience for the missionaries. The fatigue also attending the emigration of a whole congregation, with all their goods and cattle, in a country like North America, can hardly be conceived by any one, who has not experienced it, much less can it be described in a proper manner. The land-travellers had 70 oxen, and a still greater number of horses to care for, and sustained incredible hardships in forcing a way for themselves and their beasts through very thick woods and swamps of great extent, being directed only by a small path, and that hardly discernible in some places; so that it appears almost impossible to conceive how one man could work his way and mark a path through such close thickets and immense woods, one of which was computed to be about 60 miles in length. It happened, that when they were thus rather creeping than walking through the thick woods, it rained almost incessantly. In one part of the country they were obliged to wade thirty-six times through the windings of the river Munsy, besides suffering other hardships. However, they attended to their daily worship as regularly as circumstances would permit, and

had frequently strangers among them, both Indians and white people; who were particularly attentive to the English discourses delivered by Br. Ettwein.

The party which went by water were every night obliged to seek a lodging on shore, and suffered much from the cold. Soon after their departure from Friedenshutten, the measles broke out among them, and many fell sick, especially the children. The attention due to the patients necessarily increased the fatigue of the journey. In some parts they were molested by inquisitive, and in others by drunken people. The many falls and dangerous rapids in the Susquehannah occasioned immense trouble and frequent delays. However, by the mercy of God, they passed safe by Shomokin, and then upon the west arm of the river by Long Island to Great Island, where they joined the land travellers on the 29th of June, and now proceeded all together by land. When they arrived at the mountains, they met with great difficulties in crossing them; for, not having horses enough to carry all the baggage, most of them were obliged to carry some part. In one of the valleys they were suddenly caught in a most tremendous storm of thunder and lightning with violent rain. During a considerable part of the journey, the rattlesnakes kept them in constant alarm. Br. Ettwein happened to tread upon one with fifteen rattles, by which he was so frightened, that, according to his account, he could hardly venture to step forward for many days after, and every rustling leaf made him dread the approach of a rattlesnake. These venomous creatures destroyed several of the horses by their bite, but the oxen were saved by being driven in the rear.

The most troublesome plague both to man and beast, especially in passing through a tract of country, named "*a place avoided by all men*," was a kind of insect, called by the Indians Ponk, or *Living Ashes*,* from their

* The following circumstance gave rise to this name:—About 70 years ago, an Indian, affecting the manner of a hermit, lived upon a rock in this neighbourhood, and used to appear to travellers and hunters in different garbs, frightening some, and murdering others. At length

being so small that they are hardly visible, and their bite as painful as the burning of red-hot ashes. As soon as the evening fires were kindled, the cattle, in order to get rid of these insects, ran furiously towards the fire, crowding into the smoke; by which our travellers were much disturbed both in their sleep and at meals. In another part of the forest, the fires and storms had caused such confusion among the trees, that the wood was almost impenetrable. The travellers were sometimes under the necessity of staying a day or two in one place, to supply themselves with the necessaries of life. They shot upwards of one hundred and fifty deer during the course of the journey, and found great abundance of fish in the rivers and brooks.

July 29th, they left the mountains, and arrived on the banks of the Ohio, where they immediately built canoes, to send the aged and infirm with the heavy baggage down the river. Two days after they were met by Br. Heckewelder and some Indian Brethren with horses from Friedenstadt, by whose assistance they arrived there on the 5th of August, and were received with every mark of affection by the whole congregation; who joined them in praising and thanking the Lord for the grace and protection they had experienced during this tedious journey of eight weeks.

The necessities of the Indian congregation were at this time most wonderfully supplied, and the missionaries acknowledged with humility and gratitude, that neither the inhabitants of Friedenstadt nor their numerous guests lacked any thing, but, contrary to the apprehensions of many, had enough and to spare. The travellers received likewise a present of 100 dollars from the Quakers in Philadelphia, with which they provided a supply of bread for future necessity.

Soon after their arrival in Friedenstadt, Zeisberger came from Shonbrun, and several conferences were held

a valiant Indian Chief was so fortunate as to surprise and kill him. To this true account fabulous report has added, that the Chief having burnt the hermit's bones to ashes, scattered them in the air throughout the forest; that they then took a living form, and became "ponks."

concerning the mission in general. The missionaries and their Indian assistants were also employed in revising all the translations of different parts of the Scriptures and hymns made in the Delaware language. A conference of Indian assistants was likewise appointed for each settlement.

Aug. 19th, Ettwein, Zeisberger, and Heckewelder went to Shonbrun. Zeisberger was soon after taken ill; Ettwein therefore went with the deputies, appointed by the Indian Brethren, to Gekelemukpechunk, to procure renewed assurances of protection from the council. The inhabitants had just received 70 gallons of rum, and were engaged in a drunken frolic, when the news of the arrival of the missionary and the deputies came to the Chief. He immediately gave orders to desist; and after they had regained their sobriety by a sound sleep, called a council, in which the deputies mentioned the arrival of the two congregations of Friedenshutten and Chechshequannink in the usual solemn manner; informing them that they intended to build one or perhaps two settlements besides Shonbrun. The speaker of the embassy, John Papunhank, took this opportunity to give the council a full explanation of the sentiments, constitution, doctrine, and worship of the converted Indians. He did this in a solemn and manly style, relating how he had lived formerly, and how God had shewn mercy to him. The answer was kind, and a promise given, that in return an embassy should be sent to Shonbrun.

At Shonbrun, the Brethren Ettwein and Zeisberger greatly rejoiced at the marvellous dispensation of God, who had thus placed the Indian flock as a light shining in the midst of the Delaware country, and in the neighbourhood of the Shawanose and Hurons. Ettwein then returned to Bethlehem, by way of Friedenstadt, with the most pleasing prospects for futurity.

Some time after, a great part of the Indian congregation went from Friedenstadt to the Muskingum, and built a settlement about ten miles below Shonbrun, which they called *Gnadenhutten*.

During the building of these two places, Zeisberger, with two Indian Brethren, made a journey into the country of the Shawanose, who were generally considered as the most savage among the Indian nations. In the first village they were kindly received by a son of the Chief Paxnous (see p. 125.) He offered to accompany them during their visit; and when they came to the chief town of the Shawanose, he advised them to take up their abode with the heathen teacher, as his influence among the people was very great. This man received the Brethren very civilly; and when upon his inquiry into the aim of their visit, Zeisberger answered, that he brought him the words of eternal life, he replied: "This is what we want, and we will hear you with pleasure." A house was immediately fitted up, and both the missionary and his Indian companions found here a desirable opportunity to make known to a great number of attentive hearers, most of whom understood the Delaware language, that God hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked may turn from his way, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and live. The heathen teacher listened in silence for some days, but at length, not able to contain the emotions of his heart, he made the following declaration to the missionary: "I have not been able to sleep all night, for I am continually meditating upon your words, and will now open to you my whole heart: I believe that all you preach is truth. A year ago I became convinced that we are altogether sinful creatures, and that none of our good works will save us; but we did not know what to do to gain eternal salvation. I have therefore always comforted my people, that somebody would come and show us the true way to happiness, for we are not in the right way, and even the day before your arrival, I desired them to have but a little patience, and that a teacher would certainly come. Now you are come, and I verily believe, that God has sent you to make his word known to us."

When Zeisberger was on the point of taking leave, the Indian teacher brought him the following message from the Chiefs and council: "We have resolved, that from this

time, we will receive the word of God, and live in conformity to it. This we speak not with our mouths only, but also with our hearts. We therefore desire and pray, that not only believing Indians, but also white teachers would dwell among us, that they may teach us how to be saved." The missionary was astonished at a message of such import, from a town of the Shawanose, and promised with pleasure, to mention their request to his brethren at Bethlehem.

Zeisberger returned with his company to Shonbrun, highly pleased with the success of his journey. Both here, at Gnadenhutten, and at Friedenstadt, the Christmas-holidays were celebrated with particular blessing.

As a strict conformity to the rules and orders,* already

* They were as follows:—

1. We will know of no other God, nor worship any other but him who has created us, and redeemed us with his most precious blood.
2. We will rest from all labour on Sundays, and attend the usual meetings on that day for divine service.
3. We will honour father and mother, and support them in age and distress.
4. No one shall be permitted to dwell with us, without the consent of our teachers.
5. No thieves, murderers, drunkards, adulterers, and whoremongers, shall be suffered among us.
6. No one that attendeth dances, sacrifices, or heathenish festivals, can live among us.
7. No one using *Tschappich* (or witchcraft) in hunting, shall be suffered among us.
8. We will renounce all juggles, lies, and deceits of Satan.
9. We will be obedient to our teachers, and to the helpers, (national assistants), who are appointed to see that good order be kept, both in and out of the town.
10. We will not be idle and lazy—nor tell lies of one another—nor strike each other—we will live peaceably together.
11. Whosoever does any harm to another's cattle, goods or effects, &c. shall pay the damage.
12. A man shall have only one wife—love her and provide for her, and the children. Likewise a woman shall have but one husband, and be obedient unto him; she shall also take care of the children, and be cleanly in all things.
13. We will not permit any rum, or spirituous liquor, to be brought into our towns. If strangers or traders happen to bring any, the helpers

agreed upon and introduced into former settlements, was allowed to be the best preservative against the deceitful intrigues of their heathen neighbours, the inhabitants of Shonbrun and Gnadenhutten renewed, in January 1773, their resolution to adhere to them.

The daily worship, the conferences, schools, attendance upon visitors, provision for the poor and sick, and every requisite for the prosperity of the congregation, was regulated in the same manner as formerly in other settlements.

Many visitors came from Gekelemukpechunk to whom the Gospel was preached by the missionaries and their Indian assistants. A Chief, called Echpalawehund, heard it with such conviction, that he resolved to renounce heathenism and to live with the Brethren. But being a man much honoured and followed by a large party, his sudden resolution occasioned great confusion in the town. Some adversaries showed their enmity without any reserve, and insinuated, that the missionaries should be banished the Indian country, as disturbers of the peace. The other party held a council three days successively, and resolved at last, that they would all change their manner of living;

(national assistants) are to take it into their possession, and take care not to deliver it to them until they set off again.

14. None of the inhabitants shall run in debt with traders, nor receive goods on commission for traders, without the consent of the national assistants.

15. No one is to go on a journey or long hunt, without informing the minister or stewards of it.

16. Young people are not to marry without the consent of their parents, and taking their advice.

17. If the stewards or helpers apply to the inhabitants for assistance, in doing work for the benefit of the place, such as building meetings and school houses, clearing and fenc..g lands, &c. they are to be obedient.

18. All necessary contributions for the public, ought cheerfully to be attended to.

19. No man inclining to go to war—which is the shedding of blood, can remain among us.

20. Whosoever purchases goods or articles of warriors, *knowing* at the time that such have been stolen or plundered, must leave us. We look upon this as giving encouragement to murder and theft.

prohibit drunkenness and other common vices; not suffer any white traders to enter the town, as they introduced many new sins among them; appoint six men to preserve good order; and, without the aid of missionaries, live exactly after the way of the believing Indians, and then neither Chief Echpalawehund nor any other person among them need leave the town to live with the Brethren. This Chief (who was soon after baptized and called Peter) endeavoured to explain to them, that if they wished to be delivered from the power of sin, they must turn to Jesus Christ, that otherwise their resolutions, though good in themselves, would be all in vain. However, to show that they were in good earnest, they began by seizing upon ten casks of rum belonging to a travelling trader, which they stove in the open street. But alas, in a short time, these good resolutions proved abortive, and they were as drunken as ever.

CHAPTER XIII.

In the mean time the situation of the congregation at Friedenstadt became very alarming. Sometimes the savages would bring a great quantity of rum close to the place, and there drink and rave like madmen. In this state of intoxication they frequently entered the settlement, and the inhabitants were obliged to fasten their shutters and burn candles by day, as the drunkards broke all windows that were left open. One day a savage came running like a madman into the town, exclaiming that he would kill the white man. He proceeded full speed to Br. Rothe's house, burst open the door, and entered the room like an enraged wild beast. The missionary's wife was excessively terrified, snatched up her child and fled, but the missionary, who was then confined to his bed by illness, sat up, and in silence looked with great undauntedness at the savage, which so much discomposed him, that he stopped short, and the Indian Brethren, hastening to their teacher's relief, seized and bound him with ease.

These circumstances prevailed at length upon the con-

gregation to quit so disagreeable a neighbourhood. April 11th, 1773, there was a solemn baptismal transaction, which closed the public worship of the congregation at Friedenstadt. The day after, the church was levelled with the ground, the heathen having intimated their intention to convert it into a house for dancing and sacrifice. On the 13th the Indians and their teachers set out in twenty-two large canoes, down the Beaver Creek to the Ohio, proceeding to the mouth of the Muskingum, and up that river to Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun. Br. John Heckewelder accompanied those who went by water. But many went straight across the country with Br. John Rothe.

This journey lasted three weeks, and not a day passed but they found cause to thank the Lord for his gracious help and preservation. When at length the different parts of the Indian congregation met again together, there was universal joy and gladness. Shonbrun was inhabited chiefly by Delawares; Gnadenhutten by Mahikans: the believers from several other nations being dispersed among them in both places. The dwellings, fields and gardens were portioned out among the families according to their several necessities. Those who had lived here for some time, showed all possible kindness to the new-comers, and thus the latter were in a short time conveniently and comfortably situated and provided with every thing needful.

External troubles however were not wanting. The petty wars of the Indian tribes continued, and the Brethren, being considered as belonging to the Delaware nation, which was appointed peace-maker, were incessantly called upon to interfere.

July 4th, 1773, the missionaries in Shonbrun had the joy to baptize the firstlings of the Cherokee nation, a man and his wife.

Both here and in Gnadenhutten the labour of the missionaries increased so much, that they were obliged to beg for assistants, and to their great satisfaction, the missionary John Jacob Schmick, who had lived in Bethlehem ever since the relinquishing of Friedenshutten, resolved to enter

again into the service of his beloved Indian congregation. He arrived at Gnadenhutten on the 18th of August.

In September, Zeisberger and the two assistants, Isaac Glikkikan and William, made another journey to the Shawanose. They met the head-chief in one of their towns upon a journey. He permitted Zeisberger to continue his visit; but added, that he must expect some day or other to have his brains beat out. The missionary was not to be intimidated; and, as he expressed himself, sowed the word in hope, though he perceived that for the present no regular mission could be established among these people.

Among those who departed to eternal rest in the year 1773 was that venerable and distinguished national assistant Anthony, in the 77th year of his age. His loss was greatly lamented by the missionaries.

The year 1774 proved a time of great trial to the Indian congregation. A war which broke out early in spring between the Virginians and Cherokees, Shawanose, and Sennekas, occasioned such trouble and confusion throughout the whole country, that the two settlements, Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun, had hardly a single day of rest to the end of November.

The Delaware Chiefs were sincerely disposed to exert themselves in suppressing the war, and set several treaties on foot, to which the Christian Indians also sent some deputies. But they either proved altogether ineffectual, or only productive of a partial peace. For these well meant endeavours, the Delawares were still more hated by those Indians who were fond of war, and at length called, by way of derision, *Shwonnaks*, or white people. This exasperated the young men among the Delawares. They could not sit down patiently, and bear this contempt, but repeatedly solicited their Chiefs and captains to join the Shawanose, and go to war with the white people. But as these stood firm, the young warriors ascribed their refusal to the powerful influence of the believing Indians in the council, who, as they supposed, were guided and instructed by the missionaries. Thus the settlements were in the greatest danger

from this quarter, for the rage of the young savages was such, that they could hardly be kept back from venting their fury upon them. As the missionaries were in hourly danger of their lives, it was thought proper to send Br. Rothe and his wife with their two infants to Bethlehem, and the Lord conducted them safe through many dangers.

Numerous troops of warriors now marched through Shonbrun and Gnadenhutten, some upon murdering parties, others returning with scalps and prisoners, uttering frequent threats, that both places should soon be surprised and laid waste. Canoes were therefore always kept in readiness for any sudden emergency, as they were frequently in the night so much terrified by frightful accounts, that all were on the point of taking flight.

At length the English government was obliged to proceed to severity, and to march troops into the field. These were strictly charged not to molest the Christian Indians, nor even to pass through Shonbrun and Gnadenhutten. They defeated a large party of Shawanose, made many prisoners and destroyed four or five of their towns. Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, then marched into their country, compelled them to submit and to deliver up all the white prisoners who were still alive. He then carried off their chief captains and several other Shawanose and Senneka Indians as hostages, and thus established peace throughout the country, to which the Shawanose the more readily agreed, as all their endeavours to draw the great council of the Iroquois in Onondago, and other Indian nations into their schemes, had been frustrated.

The missionaries had again great reason to rejoice, that amidst all these troubles, the internal establishment of the congregations in the grace of God had rather gained than lost ground. The public preaching of the Gospel had never been omitted, and to most of their hearers, among whom were many warriors, the Gospel was not preached in vain. God also blessed the labour of their hands, so much that the Indians had not only sufficient to assist the needy, but even generously provided many warriors, marching through their settlements, with food and other necessa-

ries, to their great surprise. A captain said on this occasion; "I have found your people very different from what I heard them to be in our towns. There it is said, that when a strange Indian arrives he is sent to make his fire in the wood, and can get nothing to eat; I now hear the contrary from all that have come to us from you; for they have all been lodged and fed. In Gekelemukpechunk they made wry faces at us, but here all the men, women, and even children, have bid us welcome."

The confidence and courage with which the Indian assistants preached the word of reconciliation to their countrymen was remarkably great at this period. They did this even publicly in the great council at Gekelemukpechunk, the chiefs having desired that some of the eldest and most respected among the believing Indians would always attend, and they seldom omitted an opportunity of declaring the truth as it is in Christ Jesus. Notwithstanding, the missionaries were a stone of offence to many of the chiefs and to a great part of the council, and it was several times proposed to expel them by force. But God brought their counsel to nought, and appointed for this purpose the first captain among the Delawares, called White Eyes. This man kept the chiefs and council in awe, and would not suffer them to injure the missionaries, being in his own heart convinced of the truths of the Gospel. This was evident in all his speeches held before the chiefs and council in behalf of the Indian congregation and their teachers, during which he was frequently so much moved that his tears prevented his words. He likewise declared with confidence that no prosperity would attend the Indian affairs unless they received and believed the saving Gospel, sent by God to them by means of the Brethren. This exposed him to much reproach and sufferings, and he had no greater enemy than the old chief Netawatwees. White Eyes, however, remained firm, and demanded that the Christian Indians should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, and their teachers safety and protection. But finding that his remonstrances would not avail, he separated himself entirely from the chiefs and council.

This occasioned great and general surprise, and his presence being considered both by the chiefs and the people as indispensably necessary, a negociation commenced, and some Indian Brethren were appointed arbitrators. The event was beyond expectation successful, for the chief Netawatwees not only acknowledged the injustice done to Captain White Eyes, but changed his mind with respect to the believing Indians and their teachers, and remained their constant friend to his death. He published this change of sentiment to the whole council, in presence of the deputies from Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun; and sent, likewise, the following message to the chief Pakanke in Kaskaskunk:—"You and I are both old, and know not how long we shall live. Therefore let us do a good work before we depart, and leave a testimony to our children and posterity, that we have received the word of God. Let this be our last will and testament." Pakanke accepted the proposal, and he and other chiefs made it known by solemn embassies in all places where it was necessary. A treaty was now set on foot with the Delamattenoos, who had given this part of the country to the Delawares about thirty years before, by which a grant was procured, insuring to the believing Indians an equal right with the other Delawares to possess land in it.

Meanwhile Gekelemukpechunk was forsaken by its inhabitants, and a new town built on the east side of the Muskingum, opposite to the influx of the Walhalding. This town was called Goshachgunk, and the chief Netawatwees chose it for his future residence.

In 1775 the Indian congregation enjoyed rest; and strangers came in such numbers that the chapel at Shonbrun, which might contain about 500 hearers, was too small.

Among these was a white man from Maryland, Mr. Richard Connor, and his wife, who had lived many years among the Shawanose, but afterwards settled in Pittsburg. The Gospel was so precious to them, that they resolved to live in Shonbrun. The missionaries were very scrupulous of admitting white people as inhabitants, on

account of the suspicions of the Indian nations; but they were so urgent in repeating their request, that, after mature consideration in the conference of the Indian assistants, their petition was at last granted. They had soon after the satisfaction, though with much trouble, to ransom their son, of four years old, for forty dollars, from the Shawanose, who had forcibly detained him.

In this year Wangomen, the well-known heathen preacher at Goshgoshunk, visited Shonbrun, endeavouring to propagate his foolish doctrines in order to perplex the minds of the people. But the Indian Brethren opposed him so successfully, that he was utterly confounded. They closed their rebuke with these words:—"Go to our children, they can teach you the way to salvation, of which you are ignorant."

After a sermon which treated of the great love of God to man, revealed in the incarnation and death of our Lord Jesus Christ, a strange Mahikan asked an Indian Sister whether all the people at church had a feeling of this great love of God? She answered, "I cannot tell you whether all feel it, but those who believe and love our Saviour feel it certainly. I will introduce a simile. Suppose there was a very delicious meal prepared in this room, and many people attending; those only who eat, can say that the victuals taste well, the others cannot say so. Thus it is with our Saviour. Only those who have tasted of his love can speak of it, and they never forget it." The Mahikan replied, "Your simile is just. Now I will likewise tell you something. When my wife was going to lie in with her first-born, I was impatient to see the child. When I saw it, I thought, 'This child God has made;' and I loved it so much, that I could not forbear looking at it continually. Soon after the child died, and I mourned to that degree that nothing could comfort me. I had no rest day nor night, and my child was always in my thoughts, for my very heart cleaved to it. At last I could bear the house no longer, but ran into the woods, and almost lost my senses. The Indians then advised me to take an emetic to get rid of my sorrow. I complied, but the love for

my child, and my sorrow for its loss, were not removed, and I returned to the woods. There I beheld the trees and the birds, and considered that the same God created them who made my child. I then said, 'Thou, O God, who madest all things, I know not where thou art, but I have heard that thou dwellest in heaven. Thou hast taken my child, take my sorrow and grief likewise from me!' This was done, and I then could forget my child. From this I conclude, that those who love God are disposed as I was towards the child I so dearly loved; they can never forget him, nor find rest and pleasure in any thing else."

Both settlements were much troubled by such Indians as had neglected their plantations during the former wars, and were thus reduced to famine. The believing Indians fed these wretched people as long as they had any thing themselves, but being soon distressed for provisions, were obliged to seek food for their families by hunting at a great distance from home. On one of those expeditions, a brother having lost his party strayed into ani mmense wilderness, where he roved about for a whole week before he found his way home. On his arrival, the whole congregation took share in the inexpressible joy of his wife and children, who had given him over for lost. He was almost starved, looked like a corpse, and it was with difficulty that he was so far restored as to be able to take food. But he could not find words to express his thanks to God, on whom he placed his sole confidence in this dreadful hour of trial.

An Indian who had been sent away from Gnadenhutten on account of his bad behaviour, was exasperated to such a degree, that, having painted himself all over black, he entered the house of the missionary Schmick, armed with a large knife, bent upon revenge. But finding only his wife at home he returned, and soon recollecting himself, went and confessed his sins and unhappy condition, begging earnestly to be re-admitted; and not long after Br. Schmick had the pleasure to baptize him into the death of Jesus. Another, who had been appointed successor to the

chief Netawatwees, declined the offer, and would rather believe and be baptized than promoted to that honour.

Among those called by the Lord into eternal rest was John Papunhank, a man much respected, who cleaved steadfastly unto the Lord, and in every trial gave evident proofs that he was established in the true faith. The external affairs of the settlement at Shonbrun were committed to his inspection, as warden of the congregation. In this office he showed the greatest faithfulness and activity. During the latter period of his life he was remarkably cheerful, and in his last illness never wished to recover, but longed to depart and see Jesus, his Lord and God, face to face. The decease, also, of Joshua was a painful stroke to the missionaries; he was one of the first baptized in the year 1742. As an assistant he showed great zeal and fidelity, preached the Gospel with simplicity and power to his countrymen, and having great gifts and capacity, was very useful and unwearied in translating.

Towards the end of the year a solemn embassy came from Goshachgunk to Shonbrun, to desire that a third settlement might be established. The message was duly received; and in April 1776, Zeisberger and Heckewelder, with eight Indian families, in all 35 persons, went from Shonbrun to the spot previously chosen. The Brethren called it *Lichtenau*. It was about three miles below Goshachgunk.

On the evening of their arrival they met in the open air to praise the name of that Lord whom they intended to worship and serve in this place. They first dwelt in huts, as usual on such emergencies, marked out the plantations and gardens for the settlement, on the banks of the Muskingum, and built one street, north and south, with the chapel in the centre. By the preaching of the Gospel here, many Indians in Goshachgunk and other places became concerned for their salvation; and even savages from the most distant parts came hither, and heard it with abiding blessing.

July 28th, the first baptism was administered in Lichtenau to a nephew of the Chief Netawatwees, who was

named John. He soon became an active and zealous witness among his countrymen, fearless of the persecution of those who were avowed enemies of the Gospel. Netawatwees, who greatly rejoiced at the change wrought in his nephew, permitted his son to move with his whole family to Lichtenau, and was very thoughtful about his own salvation. He related, that he had made thirteen notches in a piece of wood, by way of memorandum, that he had been thirteen Sundays in Lichtenau to hear the word of God; and that when he considered how often he had heard of his Redeemer, and looked at the notches in the wood, he could not help weeping, although he endeavoured to conceal his tears.

Among those who moved to Lichtenau in this year, was a Chief from Assining. He had married a white woman, who, as a child, was taken prisoner by the savages about 19 years before in Virginia. Being present at a morning meeting for the first time, she burst into tears, saying, "O how do I rejoice, that after the space of 19 years, I at last hear the Gospel again. I have often desired to live with you, and now God has granted my petition; I never felt happier than when I awoke this morning."

In Gnadenhutten, about this time, arrived a Chief of the Shawanose, commonly called Cornstock, with a retinue of upwards of 100 persons, men, women, and children. His behaviour was courteous, and he shewed a particular friendship for the missionary Jacob Schmick.

The Delaware Reading and Spelling Book, compiled by Zeisberger, was now introduced into the schools at Shonbrun and Gnadenhutten, and gave great pleasure to the scholars.

The believing Indians, consisting at the close of 1775 of 414 persons, lived now in three settlements, not far asunder, and a constant edifying intercourse subsisted between them. Internally the congregations prospered greatly. The Gospel showed its divine power in the hearts both of strangers and inhabitants. Of the former many were added to the church of God by holy baptism, and the growth of the latter in the love and knowledge of the Lord Jesus

Christ, was so conspicuous, that the missionaries could not but acknowledge the mission to have been at that time in the most flourishing state.

CHAPTER XIV.

In the year 1775 the disputes between Great Britain and her North American colonies had risen so high, that the disturbances occasioned by them reached the countries situated along the Muskingum and Ohio. The Indian mission was thereby brought into an extraordinary dilemma; and the missionaries were obliged to act with the utmost circumspection, not to offend either the English or Americans, or the various Indian nations inclining to one or the other party.

They first received a message in the name of his Britannic Majesty, desiring that the Brethren, as well as the others, would strictly adhere to the articles of peace, and remain quiet during the troubles subsisting between the colonies and the mother-country. The Christian Indians were more especially willing to act conformably to the contents of this message, as they loved peace and wished to remain unmolested. Soon after another message was received from the American Congress at Philadelphia, giving them notice in the kindest terms, that they had appointed an agent of Indian affairs, with whom they should correspond in all public concerns. Not long after a report prevailed, that the Shawanose had joined the English against the Americans, and were gone out to murder the latter. At last intelligence was brought that the Six Nations would go to war, and assist the English, but that the Delaware nation, which was appointed to keep the general peace, should not be informed of these proceedings, till it was too late to prevent hostilities. The believing Indians, being resolved at all events not to meddle with the war, saw plainly, that they should stand, as it were, between three fires, the English, the Americans, and those Indian nations who were displeased with their neutrality; all these being suspicious of their conduct. But the greatest concern they

had was on account of their teachers, who, in case of an Indian war, must either fly and leave their congregations, or every day be in danger of losing their lives.

The Delaware Chief Netawatwees did every thing in his power to preserve peace among the Indian nations, by sending embassies, and exhorting them not to go to war. The belts carried to the Chiefs of the Hurons were delivered in the presence of the English Governor of Fort Detroit; the latter, to fulfil his duty, cut them in pieces, cast them at the deputies feet, and commanded them to depart within half an hour. He even accused Captain White Eyes of taking part with the Americans, advising him to depart instantly as he valued his head. After this, Congress offered to protect those Indians who were peaceably disposed, and to place them out of the reach of danger; but no Chief would venture to make known this message to his people, the general disposition of all the Indians, the Delawares not excepted, being for war.

The Americans then advised the missionaries to save themselves, and take refuge in Pittsburg. But well knowing that their congregations would fall into the most deplorable circumstances without their teachers, they declined every offer of that kind, and resolved rather to suffer with the people committed to their care, though threatened by the most imminent danger. Brother William Edwards arrived in autumn from Bethlehem to assist the mission.

About this time the Hurons and Mingoes came into the vicinity of the settlements, and murdered eleven white people; and early in the morning of the 12th of November, six of them came to Lichtenau in search of white people, intending to kill them, but declared that they did not mean to hurt the white teachers.

The Americans now began to march with the Indian warriors in their interest, against the English, and desired a passage through the Delaware country, promising that if they remained quiet they should suffer no injury. The Delawares however were not a little alarmed, fearing that if the Americans were defeated, the conquerors would

plunder and destroy all the Delaware towns, and our settlements would have undoubtedly shared the same fate. But as their request could not be refused, silence gave consent.

It now became evident, why, by the providence of God, Lichtenau had been placed so near to Goshachgunk; for the believing Indians could neither have defended themselves nor their teachers against the insults of the warriors, had they not had constant support from the Chiefs and council of that place. One circumstance was very perplexing to the missionaries. They were generally requested to read and to answer the letters received by the Delaware Chiefs from Pittsburg and other places. It would have been unkind and even dangerous to refuse; yet the missionaries were afraid lest this correspondence with the Americans, in the name of the Chiefs, should excite the displeasure of the English—and the event proved their fears to be well founded. The more the missionaries stood in need of a sensible and respected Chief in their embarrassing situation, the more they had reason to lament the death of Netawatwees, which happened in Pittsburg toward the close of 1776. Ever since his sentiments had changed in favour of the Gospel, he was a faithful friend to the Brethren, and being one of the most experienced Chiefs in his time, his counsel proved often very servicable to the mission.

A message arrived soon after from the Hurons, signifying that they were unwilling to go to war, but found themselves driven to it; adding, that the Iroquois and all the western nations had united to fight against the Americans, and that the Delawares should now finally declare what party they intended to join. They answered that they should join neither, but keep the peace, by which they hoped to be most benefited. That even the Americans had advised them so to do, not desiring any assistance from the Indians. The Governor of Fort Detroit and the Huron Chief could not comprehend why the Delaware nation was so firm in maintaining peace. At last it was ascribed to the missionaries and their influence upon the deliberations of the

council, and it afterwards appeared, that already at that time a proposal was made to seize the missionaries and carry them to Fort Detroit.

The accounts of the advantage gained by the Americans over the English troops, in 1777, increased the confusion. The Shawanose resolved again to go to war, and turned a deaf ear to their Chiefs, who advised peace. Accounts were received from all quarters that the savages intended to massacre first the white people, and then all those Indians who had not joined them in the war. The missionaries were always more particularly threatened with death, and even the time mentioned when they should be murdered.

During all these commotions, the Chiefs of the Delawares remained firmly resolved not to interfere in the war between England and her colonies. But the Monsys, one of the Delaware tribes, were secretly contriving to separate themselves from the body of the nation, and to join the Mingoes, a set of idle thieves and murderers. However, before they publicly avowed their sentiments, they endeavoured to gain a party among the enemies of the mission, of whom there were a large number in those parts. At last they even ventured to come into the settlements and sought to decoy some to join them.

Newallike, a Chief, was the first in Shonbrun who was seduced to turn back into heathenism, pretending, that he had in vain endeavoured to believe, but not finding it possible, was now convinced that the Christian doctrine was altogether a fable. The bad example of Newallike was followed by many, and before the missionaries were aware, they found in the midst of Shonbrun a party of apostates, who seemed resolved to replace heathenism upon the throne. So severe a stroke these servants of God had not yet felt, and it proved an affliction, infinitely greater than all their former sufferings. They spared no pains, using every possible effort which love could dictate, to recover these poor backsliders, to gain their confidence, and lead them to reflect upon the error of their ways, but all in vain. They therefore resolved, rather than enter into a dispute with so dangerous an enemy, to go out of their way. Added to

this, intelligence was received from various places, that the savages, in league with the apostates, were on their way to attack Shonbrun.

Terrified by succeeding reports, Youngman and his wife, and Heckewelder, left Shonbrun precipitately in the night of April 3rd, with the first party of the Christian Indians. By the way, several of the latter resolved to settle at Gnadenhutten for the present, the inhabitants of which were not inclined to fly until they were in greater danger; with the rest the missionaries proceeded to Lichtenau. But Heckewelder soon returned to Shonbrun, where he comforted the remaining believers, held meetings in the regular course, and kept as good order as possible: April 19th, Zeisberger delivered his last discourse in Shonbrun. The congregation was much moved, and joined in fervent prayer for the unhappy apostates. Afterwards the chapel was pulled down, as usual in such cases, and all the believers left Shonbrun the same day.

In this month the Chiefs of the Delawares again sent deputies to the Hurons, among whom were two brethren from Lichtenau, to assure them that they intended to preserve their neutrality. As soon as these deputies arrived, and it was known that two believing Indians were among them, and that one of them, Isaac Glikkikan, was even speaker of the embassy, the Hurons said; "Now we shall hear the truth, for the believing Indians tell no lies." The message was well received, both by them and the English Government in Detroit, and in June a very satisfactory answer followed.

The Americans likewise entered into several treaties with the Indians, but at last all hopes of peace vanished at once; a party of Americans having fired upon a body of Senneka Indians who came to attend the conference. By this step the savages were again enraged at the white people, considered them altogether as traitors, and vowed revenge.

Soon after this the Hurons offered the Delawares the large war-belt three times successively, demanding their assistance to make war against the colonies. But the Delaware Chiefs returned it, and sent word to the Hurons

that they could not comply with their demand, having promised at the treaty of peace, made after the late war, that as long as the sun should shine, and the rivers should flow they would not fight against the white people: that therefore they had no hand left to take up the war-belt. The Huron Chiefs were much displeased with this answer, and nothing appeared more probable, than that the Delawares, and of course our settlements, would soon be attacked by the surrounding savages. As the danger increased, it was resolved to send some of the missionaries home. In May, Heckewelder, and in August, Youngman and his wife returned to Bethlehem.

On the very day after the latter set out, intelligence was received at Lichtenau that 200 Huron warriors, headed by their so-called Half-king, were on their march to that place. This caused a general alarm. After mature consideration the brethren resolved to show no signs of fear, but to gain these savages by giving them a kind reception. August the 8th, the warriors arrived in Goshachgunk, and upon their meeting a number of the Indians from Lichtenau carrying provisions for them, their surprise and pleasure were equally great. The good humour which this occasioned was improved by the assistants, who soon after sent a solemn embassy to the Half-king and the other Chiefs, Isaac Glikkikan being speaker. The Half-king replied in a very friendly manner, and "rejoiced that he could hear his cousins with open ears, and take their words to heart."

The same day he came to Lichtenau with 82 warriors. They were first shown into the school-house, where the missionaries Zeisberger and Edwards received them. They shook hands with all they met, and the Half-king said: "We rejoice to see our father, and to take him by the hand; from this time forth we will consider you as our father, and you shall own and consider us as your children, nor shall any thing ever disturb your minds in this respect, but our covenant shall remain firm for ever. We will also acquaint the other nations with the proceedings of this day, and they too will rejoice." Zeisberger answered this compli-

ment in a proper manner, after which the missionaries and some Indian Brethren dined with the Half-king and his officers under a hut made of green boughs: the other warriors seated themselves in the shade in front of the place, and were so richly provided with food, that after having made a hearty meal, each could carry a large portion with him to Goshachgunk, to which place they all returned in the evening. The Half-king then sent messengers to the English Governor in Detroit, and to the Chiefs in the Huron country, to give them an account of the covenant made with the believing Indians, adding, that he and his warriors had acknowledged the white Brethren to be their father, and would ever own them as such.

The news of the favourable turn of this dangerous affair not having reached Gnadenhutten in time, the missionary Schmick and his wife were persuaded, upon the representation of the Indian assistants, to fly to Pittsburg, from whence they proceeded to Bethlehem.

Thus the two missionaries, Zeisberger and Edwards, were left alone to serve two congregations, twenty miles asunder, with no other prospect than that of successive troubles. The pain they felt under these circumstances may be more easily conceived than described. But God comforted them, and strengthened their faith so powerfully that they renewed their covenant to remain firm in the service of the Indian congregations, and even to suffer death itself. Zeisberger stayed in Lichtenau and Edwards went to Gnadenhutten. They now plainly perceived how great a favour the Lord had conferred upon them, by permitting the covenant between the Indian congregation and the Huron warriors to take place at this time. Without it they could not have continued to exercise any ministerial functions, or must have done it in secret. But now they could go safely about the country, and even to the wildest savages, who treated them with respect and kindness. Many of the latter attended the public worship at Lichtenau, nor did their behaviour ever cause the least disturbance. Zeisberger received every day visits from people who came to salute him as their father, and some who were ill were

much pleased by his willingness and dexterity in granting them relief.

A great number of Indians from other tribes, joined the Half-king. He kept good order, and would not suffer any extravagance. But the maintenance of so many warriors, who at last came by hundreds dancing before every house to beg bread and tobacco, became very troublesome to the inhabitants of Lichtenau. They were therefore glad to see them march off on the 22nd and 23rd of August, especially as so much rum had been latterly brought from Pittsburg, that the whole country around became one scene of drunkenness and riot. It was now to be feared that the friendly behaviour of the Hurons, who were of the English party, might give umbrage to the Americans. And indeed intelligence was afterwards received, that several plans were formed to surprise and destroy Lichtenau, Gnadenhutten, and other Delaware towns, and exterminate the Indians, whether friends or foes. This made the Delawares at length take up arms, alleging, that they must die, whether they fought or not. They joined the Hurons, who were still in the neighbourhood. But the Indian congregation firmly resolved not to take the least share in the war, and to exclude from their fellowship all who did.

September the 17th at night, an express arrived at Lichtenau and Gnadenhutten, with an account of the approach of the Americans. Both congregations immediately fled with their teachers in canoes, and indeed with such precipitation that they left the greater part of their goods behind. They met on the Walhalding, where they encamped, and remained together during the 18th. Happily it proved to be a false alarm; and on the following day they all returned to their respective homes.

A message arrived on the 23rd from an American General and Colonel Morgan in Pittsburg, assuring the Delawares that they had nothing to fear from the Americans. Zeisberger communicated this joyful news to the congregation after midnight; and the Delaware Chiefs returned again to their former system of peace.

In the beginning of October, however, an engagement

took place between the Hurons and a troop of American freebooters, who went, contrary to the express order of the Governor of Pittsburg, to destroy the Delaware towns, and consequently the settlements also. They were entirely defeated by the Half king, who killed the greatest part of them.

Soon after, accounts were received at Lichtenau, that the Delawares on the Cayahaga and Walhalding prepared to go to war. As these proceedings threatened danger both to them and the congregations of believing Indians, Zeisberger sent a serious remonstrance to the council in Goshachgunk, positively declaring that the believing Indians would forsake the country, as soon as the Delawares went to war. On this account the Chiefs in all places were assembled to a general council, in which a resolution was taken, Oct. 31, to preserve peace and neutrality without exception.

During this period of confusion and calamity, when the spirit of murder and of darkness greatly prevailed, the work of God proceeded unmolested. The missionaries reported that a revival of grace, and great harmony and brotherly affection appeared among the baptized Indians. The public preaching of the Gospel at Lichtenau, was so numerously attended by strange Indians, that there was want of room. Many were baptized, and some, who had been baptized in other communities, were received as members of the Brethren's congregation. The Indian assistants were particularly successful in bearing their testimony of the truth. Several went to Goshachgunk, to declare the Gospel to the sick, who could not come to Lichtenau, and their visits were richly blessed. Some heathen teachers indeed attempted to oppose them, but not being able to withstand the power of God, they were confounded. There was also a great awakening among the unbaptized children, both at Lichtenau and Gnadenhutten. Among these were the children of an unbaptized Chief from Assining, called Welapakchieken, living at Lichtenau. The father himself publicly declared his resolution to belong to the Brethren; and though his relations threatened to kill him, he remained stedfast, and was soon after baptized.

CHAPTER XV.

In February 1778, the missionaries Heckewelder and Shebosh left Bethlehem for the purpose of returning to the settlement of Lichtenau. They were furnished with passports from the President (Laurens), who assured them "that it had been the wish of Congress, that the Indian nations should remain neutral during the contest with Great Britain." At Pittsburg the missionaries heard that three men, well known to the Indians, having been employed as agents and interpreters by the British, were now among the Delawares propagating the most abominable falsehoods respecting the war, and again asserting that the Americans had issued orders for the total extirpation of the Indians. The Delawares were highly enraged; and with great difficulty Captain White Eyes persuaded the Chiefs to refrain from hostilities for ten days, during which time he hoped to obtain more certain information. It was late in the evening of the ninth day, after this resolution of the Chiefs, when the missionaries arrived at Gnadenhutten, where they found the congregation preparing for flight. Though excessively fatigued, yet, at the earnest entreaty of these people, Heckewelder rose at 3 o'clock on the following morning, and mounting a fresh horse, with the native assistant John Martin for a companion, proceeded on a perilous journey to Goshachgunk, 30 miles distant, where the Delaware warriors were assembled. He reached the place in safety; and a council was called on his arrival. Before this body he proved the falsehood of the charges which had been made against the Americans, to the great satisfaction of all the Chiefs who were peaceably disposed. Hostilities were thus prevented. Heckewelder proceeded to Lichtenau, where he related what had taken place, to the inexpressible joy of Zeisberger and his congregation, who assured him that nothing could have come at that time more seasonable than his arrival to save the nation, and with it the mission from utter destruction.

The Hurons continued to commit hostilities against the

United States, and the most dreadful accounts were received from time to time of the murders and ravages committed by them and by other Indians in the plantations of the white people; and also of the same cruelties exercised against the Indians by the latter. The Brethren showed great compassion to the prisoners who were led through their settlements; gave them food, and would never suffer them to be scourged or otherwise abused, as the Indian custom is whenever they pass through any town. Sometimes the brutal savages were greatly enraged at this compassionate prohibition, but they were obliged to obey.

Among these prisoners was an old man, of venerable appearance, and two youths. The Christian Indians greatly commiserated the former, and offered a large sum to the warriors for his release, but all in vain. When they arrived at their dwelling place the two young men were tortured and burnt alive. The old man was condemned to suffer the same treatment, but being informed of it by a child, he contrived his escape, was fortunate enough to seize a horse, and fled into the woods. The savages pursued him, but he arrived safe at a place in the neighbourhood of Lichtenau, and not being able to proceed through hunger, having eaten nothing but grass for ten days, an Indian brother found him lying in the wood, more like a corpse than a living creature, so that he had much trouble to bring him to Lichtenau, where he recovered and was afterwards conveyed to Pittsburg. During this period many troops of warriors were so far prevailed upon by the friendly and reasonable persuasions of the Indian Brethren, that they gave up their murderous intentions and returned home, by which much bloodshed was prevented. Sometimes however the believing Indians had no other way of defending themselves against the robberies and outrages of the warriors, passing either through or near the settlement, than by sending deputies to represent the injustice of their proceedings and delivering strings of wampum.

These troubles were chiefly felt by the Brethren at Gnadenhutten. They were therefore invited to come and settle at Lichtenau for the present, and removed thither in

April 1778. Thus three Indian congregations lived on one spot; the chapel was enlarged and new houses built.

The mission now enjoyed rest and peace for a considerable time, which was the more agreeable, as the troubles had been of long continuance. But the evil-minded Monsys persisted unweariedly in their endeavours to set the other Indian nations against the Delawares, and especially against the believing Indians and their teachers. Added to this, the United States began at last to call upon the Delawares to make war against the Indians in the English interest. This caused the Chiefs to waver in their resolutions, and at length they resolved to join the English. Humanly speaking, the Christian Indians had now nothing but ruin before them, the English Indians having unanimously resolved in a council held at Detroit, that the hatchet should fall upon the head of every one who should refuse to accept it. Those in league with the United States being of the same mind, the believers were now between two enemies. The first step taken against them was a serious and repeated charge sent by the Delaware Chiefs and the Governor of Detroit to the young men to take up arms. This they firmly refused to do, though their situation was rendered very critical, through a malicious report raised by the Delawares, that the Christian Indians intended to take part with the Americans. The missionaries were in the greatest danger, for to their authority and influence alone their refusal was ascribed. The savages therefore frequently repeated their threats, that the missionaries should be either killed, or carried away prisoners; for they flattered themselves that if these were removed, the Indian congregation would soon be forced to comply.

About this time there appeared numerous instances of the preservation of God. In the summer of 1778 the missionaries received certain information, that the Governor of Detroit intended to send a party of English and Indians to carry them off; but his design was frustrated by the sudden death of the captain appointed to command the expedition, whose station could not be immediately supplied. Another officer charged the Indians to bring the missionaries dead

or alive. They indeed promised, but afterwards neglected to fulfil their word. During the summer of 1779 they were in the most imminent danger, and knew no way to escape. A detachment of English and Indians came into the neighbourhood of the settlement intending to take the missionaries prisoners. But suddenly the news of an attack of the Americans upon the Indian country caused all the Indians to return home, and the English were obliged to march back to Detroit.

The Half-king of the Hurons cautioned the missionaries to be upon their guard, having received authentic information, that a plot was laid against their lives, but particularly against Zeisberger. In reply to this message, Zeisberger answered: "If I am in danger I cannot prevent it, but I commit my work, my fate, and my future course to my gracious Lord and Master, whom I serve. I remain cheerful and confident, though I shall use all caution, not to expose myself without necessity." But wherever his duty called him, the appearance of danger never caused him to hesitate.—Very soon after this, he received information, as he was about to return to Shonbrun, from a visit he had paid at Lichtenau, that a band of Mingoes, accompanied by Simon Girty, a white trader, were waiting for him on the road, having been sent by the governor of Detroit to bring either himself or his scalp. Zeisberger's friends urged him to remain, as he had only one Indian (Isaac Glikkikan) for his companion. But he replied: "My life is in the hands of God. How often has Satan sought to destroy me: but he dare not. I shall go." He then set off. But providentially he took the wrong road, otherwise he must have fallen into the hands of the murderers. About an hour afterwards some Indians, from Lichtenau, mounted their horses and followed him; as they approached the place where the road divided, they saw him returning, having discovered his error. The trader saw him also; and called out to the captain of the Mingoes: "See here is the man whom we have long wished to see and to secure; now act according to the promise you have made." At that instant two young Delawares emerged from the woods, and hearing what was

said, stepped boldly forward with their arms in readiness to defend the missionary. On observing this, and perceiving the other Indians also rapidly advancing to his assistance, the savages shrunk from the contest, and walked quietly off.

As the Indian congregations were continually troubled by false alarms, Colonel Gibson gave the missionaries an invitation to retire with their people to Fort Laurens, or at least to settle in the neighbourhood of the fort. This kind offer could however not be accepted with propriety, as the war was always most violent near the forts. The Shawanose gave likewise a friendly invitation to all the believing Mahikans or Monsy Indians in the congregation, to move into their country, bring their teachers with them and keep to their modes of worship. But the congregation would not be divided, and remained quiet.

It soon appeared that Lichtenau was too much crowded with inhabitants. A resolution was therefore taken in 1779 that part of the congregation should return to Gnadenhutten, and that Schonbrun should be rebuilt, though not upon the same spot, but on the opposite bank of the Muskingum. Gnadenhutten was soon restored to its former order and Br. Edwards appointed minister. The building of Shonbrun was attended with greater difficulties than usual. That part of the congregation, which had gone thither with Zeisberger, dwelt for the greater part of the year in huts, and met to worship in the open air. At length, in December, they consecrated their church.

The warriors made it now a constant practice to pass through Lichtenau, and the robberies, drunkenness, and consequent outrages, incessantly committed by them, became an insupportable burthen to the congregation. It was therefore thought most prudent to quit this place, and build a new settlement. A spot about five miles below Gnadenhutten was fixed upon, and called *Salem*. March 30th, 1780, the last meeting was held at Lichtenau; the chapel was then pulled down and the congregation set out: but though Salem was only twenty miles distant, a week was spent in performing the journey, as they were obliged to

row against the stream. The building of this new settlement was, by the assistance of the Brethren from Shonbrun and Gnadenhutten and the diligence of its inhabitants, carried on with such expedition, that on the 22d of May the new chapel could be consecrated; and in December the buildings were completed.

But even here the evil-minded Delaware Chiefs sought to molest the Brethren. They agreed that all the inhabitants of Goshachgunk, who would not go to war, should settle in the vicinity of Salem; but though all remonstrances were in vain, yet their evil intentions were frustrated.

As to the internal state of the congregation, this period was distinguished by particular grace. The missionaries lived in harmony, serving the Lord with gladness. Among the Indian Brethren and Sisters brotherly love bore the sway, and they carefully avoided every thing that might tend to disturb it.

Many strange Indians came to the settlement and heard the Gospel with great attention, and on one occasion as Isaac Glikkikan rose to retire to rest, it being midnight, one of the heathen, his former companion, stopped him, saying: "We used formerly to spend many a night in feasting and drinking, and never felt disposed to sleep; let us for once pass a night in considering this great subject, and speak fully about it." Isaac gladly consented, and thus they spent the night in asking and answering questions concerning what the Lord Jesus had done and suffered for us. A noted murderer soon after got into conversation with Isaac, and among other things asked him whether he knew where the devil lived. "That I do," replied Isaac, "he lives in your heart."

A strange Indian, from the banks of the Missisippi, came to Salem, and having given the missionary a circumstantial account of his travels, of the face of the country on the Missisippi and of its inhabitants, added: "Thus have I roved about, till I am grown old and grey. I have taken great pains to find something profitable for myself and my children, but have not found any thing good. With you

I find at once all I wanted; and the cause of my staying so long is, that I may hear as much as possible, and have something to relate to my countrymen on my return."

Among those who departed during this year, was an old man who must have been considerably above an hundred years old, for he remembered the time, when in 1682 the first house was built in Philadelphia, in which he had been as a boy. About this time also Captain White Eyes, who had so often advised other Indians, with great earnestness, to believe in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, but had always postponed joining the believers himself, on account of his being yet entangled in political concerns, was unexpectedly called into eternity. He died of the small pox at Pittsburg. The Indian congregation, to whom he had rendered very essential services, was much affected at the news of his death, and could not but hope that God our Saviour had received his soul in mercy.

That the Christian Indians could fervently pray, not only for their friends, but also for their enemies, and sincerely wish them well, was very striking and incomprehensible to the heathen. The apostate part of the congregation, who left Shonbrun in 1777, were more especially an object of their prayers; for notwithstanding their malicious behaviour, they never would consider them as enemies, but rather as strayed sheep. They had also the joy to find that their prayers were graciously heard by the Lord; for most of these unfortunate people returned as repenting prodigals and begged earnestly for pardon and readmission. This was granted in presence of the whole congregation, whose tears of compassion and joy on such occasions testified of that brotherly love which distinguishes the true disciples of Jesus. As to the external maintenance of the believing Indians in these times, they had abundant cause to extol the bounty of our heavenly Father. Besides their own, they had to supply the wants of great numbers of their hungry and suffering countrymen. But all things were added unto them. They had success in hunting, and plentiful crops, so that not one lacked any thing.

In May, 1780, Br. Grube, then minister of Litiz in Pennsylvania, was directed to hold a visitation in the Indian congregations. Br. Senseman and his wife, who were appointed to the service of the mission, went in his company. At Pittsburg, Br. Grube preached the Gospel to a congregation of Germans, and baptized several children, no ordained clergyman being then resident in that country. The Governor, Colonel Broadhead, and Colonel Gibson, treated the travellers with great kindness; and several Indian Brethren arrived to conduct them to the settlements. During the journey, three white people, who were seeking to get Indian scalps, a large premium being then given for them, lay in ambush near the road, and shot at an Indian, who was but a little way before Br. Grube and his company. Providentially the ball passed only through his shirt sleeve, and the other Indians taking the alarm, the murderers jumped up and ran off. June 30th, the whole company arrived safe in Shonbrun, to the great joy of the missionaries and their congregations.

Br. Grube paid visits to all the settlements, staying some time in each, conversing with every individual, even with the children, and rejoiced greatly at the open and unreserved behaviour of both old and young. Besides this, he held many conferences, both with the missionaries, to whom his visit proved a great encouragement, and with the Indian assistants. The discourses he delivered to the congregation were likewise attended with distinguished blessing. August the 15th this venerable man set out on his return, accompanied by Br. Shebosh. Though he was taken very ill on the journey, he proceeded, and arrived September the 2nd, at Litiz, thanking God for his deliverance from so many dangers. In November, Shebosh returned and brought Michael Young from Bethlehem to serve the mission.

In the spring of 1781 the missionary Zeisberger travelled to Bethlehem, where he married Susanna Lekron, who proved a true helpmate to him in the missionary service. During his stay in this place he also conferred with Bishop

John Frederic Reichel, (who had arrived from Europe on a visit to the North American congregations) concerning the future management of the affairs of the Indian mission.

Zeisberger and Youngman with their wives returned to the settlements in July; the joy of the Indians on their arrival was like that of children at the return of their beloved parents. By a new arrangement, each settlement was provided with proper teachers. Zeisberger superintended the whole mission, but served particularly the congregation at Shonbrun as minister, in conjunction with Youngman. Sensenian and Edwards served the congregation at Gnadenhutten, and Heckewelder and Young that at Salem.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE mission now enjoyed a season of peace and rest, seldom seeing or hearing any thing of the hostile Indians. Once indeed a party of eighty men, commanded by Pachganchihilas, the head war-chief of the Delawares, came to apprise the Brethren of their danger from the white people, and offered to carry them to a place of security.* As the congregation depended on the sincerity of the pacific declarations, both of the English and of the Americans, they expected no attack, and therefore declined the friendly offer of the Delawares. Upon this the chief replied, "If you stay where you now are, one day or other the long knives (Virginians) will, in their usual way, speak fine words to you, and at the same time murder you.† They will always remain the same, until they have got all our land from us, and we be left to perish, or driven by them into the great Saltwater lake!" He then marched quietly off with his men.

* One family of old people (Joseph Pepee and his wife), formerly belonging to the Rev. David Brainerd's congregation in New Jersey, accepted their offer, expecting that the whole of the Brethren would soon follow them. The old man had witnessed so many murders, committed by the white people on harmless Indians, that he could not refrain from giving credit to the warning of the Delawares.

† The sequel will show, that the predictions of this war-chief were correct.

But this happy and peaceful state of the congregation came to an unexpected close in August. It appears, that God for wise purposes had ordained, that this his Indian flock and their teachers should glorify his name in a more conspicuous manner by sufferings, and be a witness of the truth of his Gospel, by giving the most eminent proofs of Christian patience, in the most grievous tribulations. Thus they entered now upon scenes of distress, hitherto unexperienced and unprecedented.

The prime cause of all their trouble was a suspicion entertained by the English governor at Fort Detroit, that the missionaries were set as spies, to carry on a correspondence prejudicial to the English interest. This suspicion was originally owing to the calumnies of the enemies to the mission, and was by them so successfully kept up and aggravated, that the Governor resolved at last to rid himself at once of neighbours so troublesome and dangerous. In this view the English agent of Indian affairs (M'Kee) attended the great council of the Iroquois at Niagara, and requested that they would take up the Indian congregation and their teachers and carry them away. This the Iroquois agreed to do; but not being willing themselves to lay hands upon them, they sent a message to the Chippewas and Ottawas, intimating that they herewith "made them a present of the Indian congregation to make soup of," which in the war-language of the Indians signifies "We deliver them over to you, to murder them." The Chippewas and Ottawas refused, declaring that they had no reason to do so. Upon this the same message was sent to the Half-king of the Hurons. This man, who formerly treated both the believing Indians and the missionaries with great kindness, accepted of it, but declared, that he only did it to save them from total destruction. However, even the Half-king would certainly never have agreed to commit this act of injustice, had not the Delaware Captain Pipe, a noted enemy of the Gospel and of the believing Indians, and the most active calumniator of the Brethren at Detroit, instigated him to do it.

Pipe and his party of Delawares having joined the Half-

king and his warriors, with some Shawanose, they all assembled to a war-feast, for which they roasted a whole ox. Here they conferred more particularly about the best mode of proceeding, and with great secrecy, so that only the captains knew the true design of the expedition. Their order was, to bring the missionaries, dead or alive.

On the 10th of August the savages made their appearance at Gnadenhutten, amounting to above 300 in number. They were commanded by the Half-king of the Hurons, an English captain,* and the Delaware Captain Pipe, bearing English colours, which were planted in their camp. In the beginning the behaviour both of the English officer and the savages was friendly. But on the 20th, the Half-king appointed a meeting of the believing Indians and their teachers, and delivered a speech, in which he expressed much concern on their account. "Two powerful, angry, and merciless Gods (said he) stand ready, opening their jaws wide against each other: you are sitting down between both, and thus in danger of being devoured and ground to powder by the teeth of either one or the other, or of both. It is therefore not advisable for you to stay here any longer. Arise and follow me! Take also your teachers with you, and worship God in the place to which I shall lead you, as you have been accustomed to do. You shall likewise find provisions, and our father beyond the lake (meaning the governor of Fort Detroit) will care for you." He then delivered a string of wampum, and the missionaries and Indian assistants of the three settlements met in conference to consider this unexpected address, and on the 21st the latter replied to the Half-king: "Uncle! we have heard your words; but have not yet seen the danger so great, that we might not stay here. We keep peace with all men, and have nothing to do with the war. You see yourselves, that we cannot rise immediately and go with you, for we are heavy,† and time is required to prepare for it. But we

* Matthew Elliot—who carried with him a quantity of goods, expecting "to make the greatest *speck* he ever had made," by purchasing from the warriors the plunder of the Moravian settlements.

† Meaning they had much immoveable property.

will keep and consider your words, and let you know our answer next winter, after the harvest; upon this you may rely."

The Half-king would undoubtedly have been satisfied with this answer, had not the English officer and Captain Pipe urged him to proceed. The consequence was, that the Half-king, in a rough speech held on the 25th, expressed great displeasure at the reply of the believing Indians. This was answered by a remonstrance, that his commands were too severe, and that he ought to permit the inhabitants of the three settlements to make good their harvest, as they would otherwise be reduced to famine and extreme distress, in attempting to travel to a distant and unknown country with empty hands. To this remonstrance the Half-king listened in silence. In the mean time the common warriors described the country intended for our people, as a paradise, and induced some to express their willingness to follow the Half-king, without considering the consequences. Others, and by far the greater number, declared that they would rather die on the spot.

This caused great perplexity in the minds of the missionaries. They had nothing left, but to be resigned to the wise leading of the Lord, and to expect the event in quietness and silence, so that their prayers were all centered in that one petition, "*Thy will be done:*" yet they believed it to be most prudent to wait the issue, and not to follow the savages but by compulsion, that if the congregation was brought to distress and misery, they might not be liable to blame and reproach on that account.

To add to the calamity, some of their own people proved unfaithful, and even insinuated to the savages, that if they only seized upon the missionaries and carried them off, the rest of the congregation would soon follow. Others were so weak, that upon being asked, whether they would go with the Half-king, they replied: "We look to our teachers; what they do, we will do likewise." Thus the whole blame fell upon the missionaries, and they became the main object of the resentment of the savages. Besides this, two Indian Brethren whom they had dispatched to Pittsburg with a

verbal message, were intercepted, brought back and strictly examined. They told the truth, and nothing prejudicial to the Half-king appeared in it. But the savages would not give up their suspicions, that the missionaries had sent to call the Americans to their assistance. The heads of the party held a council in which they resolved to kill not only the white Brethren and Sisters, but also all the Indian assistants. However they wished first to know the opinion of a warrior, who was highly esteemed amongst them as a sorcerer. His answer was: "You have resolved to kill my dearest friends, for most of their chief people are my friends, but this I tell you, that if you hurt any one of them, I know what I will do." They were terrified at his threats and gave up their design.

The savages now became more bold, dancing and making merry in the settlement. Though nothing was denied them, but they were supplied with as much meat as they wanted, yet they shot at the horned cattle and pigs in the road, nor did they suffer the carcases to be taken away, so that the place was soon filled with insupportable stench. Small parties of them made inroads into the neighbouring country, bringing prisoners to Gnadenhutten, which was thus rendered a theatre of war and pillage.

At length the Half-king called the white Brethren from Shonbrun and Salem with all the Indian assistants to Gnadenhutten. Some of them could not forsake their places. But the missionaries Zeisberger, Senseman and Heckewelder, with several of the assistants, arrived there on the 2nd of September, and soon perceived that they should not be well treated. According to their own expression, it appeared as though the whole atmosphere was infested with evil spirits. They were soon summoned before a council of war, and the Half-king insisted upon their giving an immediate answer, whether they would go with him or not, without retiring to consult upon it? But as the missionaries appealed to the answer given already, declaring that they intended to abide by it, the assembly broke up without further debate.

On the following morning the congregation met as usual

for divine service at eight o'clock; a great number of the savages also attended. Zeisberger delivered a most emphatic discourse from Isa. liv. 8, on the great love of God towards men, and the pains he takes to bring sinners to repentance. He exhorted the Brethren to remember the many deliverances they had already experienced, to remain stedfast in the faith, and depend upon the Lord alone for protection, lest the savages should now reproach them for want of that confidence in God which they had so often professed. "We are now," he concluded, "placed in a situation hitherto unparalleled! Surrounded by a body of heathen! Some enemies to the Gospel, who threaten our lives if we do not go with them. Not being at liberty to act for ourselves, we must submit to our fate, and trust that the Lord will still hold his hand over us, and not forsake us!—We will remain quiet, and abide the consequences, it not becoming children of God to put themselves on a level with the heathen in making use of weapons for our defence! Neither will we hate our enemies on this account, who know not what they are doing! We as Christians will pray for them, that the Lord may open their eyes, and turn their hearts from all evil ways—perhaps we may yet have the pleasure of seeing some of them, who are now our enemies, repent and join themselves to our flock." This discourse was heard with remarkable attention, and many of the savages as well as the Christians were in tears. The charge given in the conclusion also pacified the Indians, and proved the means, through the mercy of God, of preventing a dreadful carnage; for it was known that many of the Indian Brethren had resolved to defend their teachers, if they were attacked, and not a few of the warriors themselves, being friends of the Brethren, were determined to take part with their relatives. The council, to prevent this, had resolved to get rid of the missionaries by assassination; but when the effect of Zeisberger's sermon was reported to the chiefs they adopted milder measures.

In the afternoon a Delaware captain called upon Zeisberger, and told him in secret, that being adopted as one of

the Delaware nation, and consequently one flesh and bone with them, the Delaware warriors were willing to protect him. But as this protection was meant to extend only to him and not to his fellow-labourers, he nobly refused the captain's offer; upon which both he and the two other missionaries were immediately seized by a party of Huron warriors and declared prisoners of war. As they were dragged off into the camp, a Huron Indian made a blow at Senseman's head with a lance, but missed his aim. Upon this a Monsy approached the missionaries, and seizing them by the hair, shook them, calling out in a tone of derision: "Welcome among us, my friends!"

They were then led to the camp of the Delawares, where the death-song was sung over them. During these transactions the Hurons, fearing the resentment of our Indians, loaded their guns with great haste, and appeared in such a panic that they hardly knew what they did. They then stripped the missionaries to their shirts and took away their clothes. Meanwhile the whole troop of common warriors ran into the missionaries' house, which they plundered and damaged in a dreadful manner. Indeed some of the young Indians had placed themselves before the house door, armed with hatchets to keep the savages in awe, but they were soon obliged to yield to numbers. However, they suffered Br. Edwards to go out unhurt. Not choosing to share a better fate than his brethren, he went to them into the camp and was made prisoner.

They were now all led into the tent of the English officer, who seeing the pitiable condition they were in, expressed some compassion, and declared that this treatment was utterly against his intention, though indeed the Governor of Detroit had given orders to take them away by force, if they refused to go willingly. Having received here some rags to cover themselves, they were led to the camp of the Hurons, and secured in two huts, Zeisberger and Heckewelder in one, and Edwards and Senseman in the other. The savages were going to confine the latter in the stocks, but upon his representing to them that that caution was quite needless, they desisted. Nor were the Brethren

bound like other prisoners, but only carefully watched. Here they sat upon the bare ground, having nothing to screen them from the cold at night.

Soon after they had been thus secured, they saw a number of armed warriors marching off for Salem and Shonbrun, and the consideration of what their families would suffer, was a greater torment to their afflicted minds than any insult offered to their own persons. About thirty savages arrived in Salem in the dusk of the evening and broke open the mission-house. Here they took Br. Michael Young, Sr. Heckewelder and her child prisoners, the former having narrowly escaped being killed by a tomahawk aimed at his head. Having led them into the street, and plundered the house of every thing they could take with them, they destroyed what was left, and brought Michael Young about midnight to Gnadenhutten, singing the death-song. He was confined in the same hut with Zeisberger and Heckewelder. As to Sr. Heckewelder, the savages were prevailed upon by the intercession of the Indian Sisters to leave her at Salem till the next morning, when she and her child were safely conducted to Gnadenhutten.

During the same night some Hurons came to Shonbrun, and suddenly broke into the missionaries' house, where they seized the missionary Youngman and his wife, and the Sisters Zeisberger and Senseman who were already in bed. They cut the beds to pieces and shook out the feathers into the street, in the same manner as was done at Gnadenhutten and Salem. Having also plundered the church of every thing, the savages set off with their booty and prisoners, and proceeded by water to Gnadenhutten. No one was more to be pitied than Sr. Senseman, who had been brought to bed but three days before, and now with her infant was hurried away by these merciless barbarians, in a dark and rainy night. But God, who does all things well, imparted to her an uncommon degree of strength and fortitude, and did not suffer either her or the child to receive the least injury. Had she been too weak to follow the savages, she and her infant would have been instantly murdered, according to their usual practice in similar cases.

Early next morning, they led this company into Gnadenhutten, singing the death-song, to the inexpressible grief of Zeisberger and Senseman who saw their wives led captive in procession.

The following day the prisoners obtained permission to speak with each other. This produced a scene so moving and interesting, that even the savages seemed struck with astonishment and remorse. The Sisters, who behaved with great composure and resignation, bearing every insult with exemplary patience, were soon set at liberty, as was also Br. Youngman; but as the missionaries' house was almost destroyed, they went to lodge in the house of Br. Shebosh, who had not been taken prisoner, being considered as a native Indian, having altogether adopted the Indian manner of living, and married an Indian woman. Here the prisoners were allowed to visit them now and then, and they had the same leave to return their visits. The savages were meanwhile strutting about in the clothes taken from the missionaries, and even compelled their wives to make shirts for them of the linen they had robbed them of.

In the beginning of these proceedings the behaviour of the believing Indians much resembled the conduct of the disciples of our blessed Saviour. They forsook their teachers and fled. When they assembled together in the woods, they lifted up their voices and wept. But soon recollecting themselves, they returned, and having recovered many things belonging to the missionaries, even out of the hands of the robbers, or paid for them, returned them to the owners.* The Indian Sisters, likewise, brought blankets to the prisoners, to cover themselves during the cold nights, but secretly and late in the evening, fetching them back early in the morning, lest the savages should steal them during the day.

But now another dangerous circumstance occurred. A

* The young Indian inhabitants met together in the night, and determined to set the prisoners at liberty, cost what it might. The most courageous among them was then deputed to inform the missionaries of their determination. But the latter desired them not to lift up a hand in their defence, as in that case they would certainly be murdered.

young woman, who came with the savages and was witness to their brutal behaviour, found means to get Captain Pipe's best horse, and rode off full speed to Pittsburg, where she gave an account of the situation of the missionaries and their congregations. When her departure was known, she was instantly pursued. As she could not be taken the savages were enraged in the highest degree: they first charged the missionaries with having sent this woman with letters to Pittsburg, to call the Americans to their deliverance. But as it appeared more probable that Isaac Glikkikan, to whom the woman was related, had sent her, a party of warriors immediately set off for Salem and brought him bound to Gnadenhutten, singing the death-song. While the savages were binding him, perceiving that they seemed much terrified, he encouraged them, saying, "Formerly, when I was ignorant of God, I should not have suffered any of you to touch me. But now, having been converted unto him, through mercy, I am willing to suffer all things for his sake." When he arrived in the camp a general uproar ensued, the savages demanding that poor Isaac should be cut in pieces. The Delawares, who hated him more particularly for his conversion, thirsted for his blood, but the Half-king interfering, would not suffer him to be killed. However they examined him very severely, and though his innocence was clearly proved, yet they attacked him with the most opprobrious language, and after some hours confinement set him at liberty. An account was afterwards received, that upon the report made by the Indian woman, the Governor of Pittsburg intended to send a force to release the missionaries, but was afterwards led to abandon this resolution, which may be considered as a gracious providence of God; for the Indian congregation would then indeed have been between two fires, and the first step taken by the savages would have been to murder all the white Brethren and Sisters.

The five Brethren had now been imprisoned four days and nights, when the Indian assistants went to the Half-king and the rest of the captains, and intreated them most earnestly to set their teachers at liberty. The savages in-

deed were convinced that the believing Indians would never be persuaded to leave the settlements, unless they were led by the missionaries. On the 6th of September, therefore, they called them before the council, declared them free, and advised them to encourage the Indians to prepare for their emigration.

Filled with thanks and praises to God they now returned to their beloved people, and went to Salem where they had appointed the congregations to meet them. Here they administered the sacrament, during which a most extraordinary sensation of the presence of the Lord comforted their hearts. They also preached the Gospel with boldness, baptized a catechumen and exhorted all the believing Indians to stand firm, and to show that faithfulness which they in a more particular manner owed to the Lord and his cause in these hours of trial and temptation. The daily words of scripture, during this afflicting period, were so applicable to their circumstances, that they could not have been better chosen, if the event had been foreseen.

Having thus refreshed themselves for some days in peace and rest at Salem, about 100 savages, who had continually watched their motions and surrounded them at some distance, entered the place on the 10th of September and behaved like madmen, committing the most daring outrages. The missionaries now perceived, that there was no other resource for themselves and their congregation, but to emigrate, as the savages seemed resolved to follow them every where. Having therefore determined to propose it to the congregations, and finding them of the same mind, they quitted Salem on the 11th of September.

But they never forsook any country with more regret. They had already lost above 200 head of cattle and 400 hogs. Besides this they left a great quantity of Indian corn in store, above 300 acres of corn land, where the harvest was just ripening, with potatoes, and other vegetables in the ground. According to a moderate calculation their loss amounted to about £2000. But what gave them most pain, was the total loss of all books and writings, compiled with great trouble, for the instruction of

their Indian youth. These were all burnt by the savages. Added to this they had nothing before them but distress, misery and danger. However, they could do nothing but possess their souls in patience, and go forward, even whither they would not. But God was with them, and the powerful sensation and experience they had of his presence supported their courage; no one left the congregation, they united together in the spirit of true brotherly love, and held their daily meetings on the road. A troop of savages, commanded by the English Captain Elliot,* escorted them, enclosing them at the distance of some miles on all sides. They went by land through Goshachgunk to the Walhalding; and then partly by water and partly along the banks of that river to Sandusky Creek. Some of the canoes sunk, and those who were in them lost all their provisions and every thing they had saved. Those who went by land, drove the cattle, a pretty large herd having been brought together from Salem and Shonbrun. Sept. 19th the Half-king overtook them with his Hurons. He had lain in Salem ever since the emigration of the Brethren; and his troops had plundered all the three settlements.

At Cockhosink (*the habitation of Owls*) they forsook the river and proceeded altogether by land. The savages now drove them forward like a herd of cattle. The white Brethren and Sisters were usually in the midst surrounded by the believing Indians. But one morning, when the latter could not set out as expeditiously as the savages thought proper, they attacked the white Brethren, and forced them to set out alone, whipping their horses forward till they grew wild, and not even allowing the mothers time to suckle their children. Some of the believing Indians followed them as fast as possible, but with all their exertions did not overtake them till night. Thus they were not delivered out of the hands of the savages till the next morning.

October 11th they arrived at Sandusky Creek, from

* "We thanked God (writes one of the missionaries) when Elliot departed from us."

which the whole country receives its name, being divided into Upper and Lower Sandusky, about 125 miles distant from the settlements on the Muskingum. Here the Half-king with his Huron warriors left them, without leaving any orders for their future observance, and marched into his own country. Thus they were left in a wilderness, where there was neither game nor any other provisions. After roving about for some time, they resolved to spend the winter in Upper Sandusky, where they pitched upon the best spot they could find in this dreary waste, and built small huts of logs and bark to screen themselves from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages had by degrees stolen every thing both from the missionaries and the Indians on the journey, only leaving them the needful utensils for making maple sugar. During the building of these huts, the evening meetings were held in the open air, and large fires were kindled to serve for warmth and light. They so much disliked their situation here, that they gave their town no name, but it was afterwards called Sandusky, from the country and river near it.

Nothing brought them into greater straits than the want of provisions, and they frequently thought of the children of Israel in the wilderness, and of that bread with which they were fed by God from heaven. Some had long ago spent all their own provisions, and depended upon the charity of their neighbours for a few morsels. Even the missionaries, who had hitherto always lived upon the produce of their own plantations, were now obliged to receive alms. On this account Br. Shebosh and several Indian Brethren returned as soon as possible to the forsaken settlements on the Muskingum, to fetch the Indian corn which had been left in great quantities in the fields. Unfortunately Shebosh and five of the Indians were taken prisoners at Shonbrun, and carried to Pittsburg; the rest, however, returned safe to Sandusky with about 400 bushels of corn.

Many savages came at that time to Sandusky, not to hear the Gospel, but rather to scoff and laugh at it. The Delaware Captain Pipe boasted publicly, that he had taken

the believing Indians and their teachers prisoners, and considered them now as his slaves. The less prospect there appeared under these circumstances, of gaining the hearts of the heathen by the preaching of the Gospel, the more joy the missionaries felt at seeing several who last year, in times of trial, had forsaken the congregation and wandered about as straying sheep, return unto the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, and to his persecuted flock.

But scarce had the missionaries and their people had a moment's breathing-time in this place, when two Delaware captains arrived with a message from the English Governor, requesting Captain Pipe to conduct the missionaries and some of the Indian Brethren to Fort Detroit.

The missionaries, who long had wished to speak with the Governor himself, and to refute the many lies he had heard, by laying the truth before him, were very willing to go, and on the 25th of October, Zeisberger, Senseman, Heckewelder, and Edwards, set out with four Indian assistants for Fort Detroit. The pain they felt at taking leave of their families and congregations was very great. They travelled chiefly by land, suffering great hardships by the way.

November the 3rd they arrived at Detroit, and were immediately brought before the governor, Arend Scuyler de Peyster, who assured them, that the only cause for his calling them from their settlements on the Muskingum, was because he had heard that they carried on a correspondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the English, and that many complaints had arisen against them on that account. The missionaries answered, that they doubted not in the least but that many evil reports must have reached his ears, as the treatment they had met with sufficiently proved that they were considered as guilty persons; but that these reports were false, would fully appear, if he would only grant a strict investigation of their conduct.

Their trial was deferred till Captain Pipe, their principal accuser, should arrive, and they felt some uneasiness in considering that the verdict seemed to depend upon the evidence of this malicious opponent. They had no friend

to interfere in their behalf. But God was their friend and stay, and they trusted in him with full confidence; nor were they put to shame.

The 9th of November was the day appointed for the trial. After some ceremonies the Governor enumerated to Capt. Pipe all the complaints he had made against the Brethren, in his own words, calling upon him now to prove, that his accusations were true, and that the missionaries had corresponded with the Americans to the prejudice of the English interest. Pipe was greatly embarrassed, and bending towards his counsellors, asked them what he should say? But they all hung their heads and were silent. On a sudden recollecting himself and rising up, he addressed the Governor:—"I will tell you the plain truth. The missionaries are innocent. They have done nothing of themselves, what they have done they were compelled to do." Then, smiting upon his breast, he added, "I am to blame, and the Chiefs who were with me in Goshachgunk; we have forced them to do it, when they refused." This alluded to the innocent correspondence carried on through the missionaries in the name of the Delaware Chiefs, referred to in page 214. The Governor then asked Captain Pipe whether he and his party were willing to permit the missionaries to return to their congregations, or would rather that they were sent away? Contrary to all expectation, Pipe approved of their return, and it was evident that God had changed his heart in this affair. The Governor then questioned the missionaries about their ordination and vocation to the mission, but especially about their connexion with the United States. As to the latter, they replied, that Congress indeed knew that they were employed as missionaries to the Indians, and did not disturb them in their labours, but had never, in any thing, given them directions how to proceed.

The Governor, having done nothing in this affair, but what his duty required, declared now publicly before the whole court, that the Brethren were innocent of all things laid to their charge, that he felt great satisfaction in seeing their endeavours to civilize and christianize the In-

dians, and would permit them to return to their congregations. Then addressing the Indian assistants, he expressed his joy to see them, admonishing them to continue to obey their teachers and not to meddle with the war. To the missionaries he offered the use of his own house, in the most friendly terms, and as they had been plundered contrary to his will and express command, he ordered that they should be provided with clothes and every other necessary without delay. Having frequently conferred with them in a kind and sympathizing manner, concerning the state of the mission, and given them a passport for their journey, to which a permission was added, that they should perform the functions of their office among the Christian Indians without molestation, he dismissed them in peace. Both the missionaries and the Indian assistants returned praises to God for the favourable turn given to their affairs, in which the Governor approved himself as a servant of God. They left Detroit on the 14th of November, and arrived on the 22nd at Sandusky. They joy of their families and the congregation was inexpressible, as nothing appeared to them more probable than that they would be detained prisoners at Detroit.

They were now left for some time at rest and built a chapel. But their external support was a matter of great difficulty and caused many melancholy reflections. They knew not to-day what they should eat to-morrow. Frequently their hunger became almost insupportable and the cry for food was general. Providentially it happened that towards the end of the year a great number of deer came into those parts. Two English traders who lived in the neighbourhood, were very kind in assisting them. They bought Indian corn for them and served them to the utmost of their power, which was gratefully acknowledged by the Indians as a proof of the gracious providence of God.

December 7th the Indian congregation held their first meeting in the new chapel. They celebrated the Christmas holidays with cheerfulness and blessing, and concluded this remarkable year with thanks and praise to Him, who is ever the Saviour of his people. But, having neither bread nor wine, they could not keep the Holy Communion.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE Indian congregation entered into the year 1782 with joy, and renewed hopes of rest, little imagining that it would be the most trying period they had ever experienced.

Towards the end of January, the cold became so intense, that the nights were almost insupportable. After it abated, the water forced out of the earth in such abundance that it did much damage to the inhabitants. The cattle had no forage in these dreary regions, nor was any to be procured elsewhere, and thus such of them as were not killed for food, perished with hunger. Famine soon spread amongst the people, and the calamity became general. Provisions were not to be had, even for money, and if any were bought in other places, an exorbitant price was demanded. Many of the poor lived merely upon wild potatoes, and at last their hunger was such, that they greedily eat the carcases of the horses and cows which were starved to death. The savages who came on a visit to Sandusky, seeing such numbers of cattle lying dead by the way side, laughed, and reviled the believing Indians, expressing great joy at their sufferings. "Now," said they, "you are become like us, and certainly you ought not to fare better."

The famine drove several parties from Sandusky to Shonbrun, Gnadenhutten and Salem on the Muskingum, to fetch provisions, a report prevailing, that there was no danger in those parts. Indeed this was now the only resource the Indians had left, for though most of their Indian corn was still standing in the fields since last year, it was much better than what was sold in Sandusky at an enormous price.

The greatest sufferings of the missionaries about this time was occasioned by the behaviour of some false Brethren, who having returned to their former sinful ways, endeavoured to introduce their heathenish practices into the congregation, and would not leave the settlement. They stayed there in defiance of all remonstrances, were enraged when kindly reproved, and went about in the villages of

the heathen, endeavouring to exasperate them against the missionaries.

It became now more evident than ever that the aim of the enemies of the Brethren was nothing less than forcibly and effectually to destroy the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians, and to disperse the Indian congregation. The Governor of Fort Detroit had promised the missionaries that they should not be molested in their labours, but he found it impossible to keep his word, as these people left him no peace. The Half-king of the Hurons appeared also against them. It happened that two of his sons, who had gone upon a marauding party, lost their lives during the expedition. This the father ascribed to some secret intrigues of the Brethren, nor would he be convinced of the contrary, but meditated revenge. He lived also in continual fear, lest the believing Indians should revenge the injuries they had suffered upon his own person. When he therefore heard that two members of the congregation had visited their imprisoned relations at Pittsburg, he wrote to the Governor of Detroit, accusing the missionaries of carrying on a constant correspondence with the Americans.

A written order was therefore sent by the Governor to the Half-king of the Hurons and to an English officer in his company, to bring all the missionaries and their families to Detroit. It may easily be conceived how this account pierced the missionaries to the very heart. According to their own declaration, they would much rather have met death itself, than be forced to forsake their congregation, whom they loved by far more than their own lives, and thus to deliver their flock over to the wolves.

When this order was communicated to the congregation, expressly assembled for the purpose, the people were overwhelmed with grief and distress. The missionaries comforted their weeping flock by representing the unbounded faithfulness of the Lord, who crowns all things which He permits with a happy issue; they then commended them to the guidance of the Spirit of God; having no other consolation both for themselves and their families, but that they were yet in the hands of a gracious Lord, though now

led through a dark and dismal valley, who would be their leading star, protector and preserver in all circumstances.

The day before their departure, they were exceedingly alarmed by the arrival of a warrior from the Muskingum, who related that all the believing Indians, who were found in the deserted settlements seeking provisions, had been taken prisoners by the Americans, carried off to Pittsburg, and some of them murdered. Thus overwhelmed with grief and terror the missionaries were obliged to take leave of their people on the 15th of March.

We will here leave the travellers, and describe the bloody catastrophe of which a very imperfect report had reached Sandusky.

The release of Shebosh and the Indians who were taken prisoners at Shonbrun in the preceding year, greatly incensed those fanatics who represented the Indians as Canaanites, who without mercy ought to be destroyed from the face of the earth, and hearing that different companies of the believing Indians came occasionally from Sandusky to the settlements on the Muskingum to fetch provisions, a party of about 160, commanded by one Williamson, assembled in the country near Whiling and Buffalo, determined first to surprise these Indians, and destroy the settlements, and then to march to Sandusky, where they might easily cut off the whole Indian congregation. When Colonel Gibson, at Pittsburg, heard of this murderous design, he sent messengers to the Muskingum to give the Indians notice of their danger: but they came too late. They, however, received in all the settlements intelligence from some savages* of the approach of the murderers, time enough for them to have saved themselves by flight; and on the 5th of March, Samuel, an assistant, was called from Shonbrun to Salem, where all the assistants met, to consult whether they should fly upon the approach of the white people; but both those of Salem and Gnadenhutten were of opinion, that they should stay. Samuel advised, that

* These savages had impaled a white woman and child near the Ohio, and were then flying under a belief that they were pursued by a party of Americans.

every one should be left to act according to his own sentiments, and they parted. When Samuel returned to Shonbrun, some Brethren accompanied him part of the way, and he declared that such love and harmony prevailed among the believing Indians, as he had never seen before.

Next day the murderers arrived at Gnadenhutten. About a mile from the settlement they met young Shebosh in the wood, fired at him, and wounded him so much that he could not escape. He then, according to the account of the murderers themselves, begged for his life, representing that he was the son of a white Christian man. But they paid no attention to his entreaties and cut him in pieces with their hatchets.* They then approached the Indians, most of whom were in their plantations, and surrounded them, almost imperceptibly, but feigning a friendly behaviour, told them to go home, promising to do them no injury. They even pretended to pity them on account of the mischief done to them by the English and the savages, assuring them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The poor Indians, knowing nothing of the death of young Shebosh, believed every word they said, went home with them and treated them in the most hospitable manner. The Americans then informed them that they should not return to Sandusky, but go to Pittsburg, where they would be out of the way of any assault made by the English or the savages. This the Indians heard with resignation, concluding that God would perhaps choose this method to put an end to their present sufferings. Prepossessed with this idea, they cheerfully delivered their guns, hatchets, and other weapons to the murderers, who promised to take good care of them, and in Pittsburg to return every article to its rightful owner. The Indians even showed them all those things which they had secreted

* Jacob, the brother-in-law of young Shebosh, saw them when they were within 150 yards of the town, and was about to hail them as friends, but at that instant they fired at one of the Indian brethren who was crossing the river in a canoe, and killed him. Instead of raising an alarm, whereby he might have saved many lives, especially at Salem, Jacob fled into the country, and hid himself for a day and a night.

in the woods, assisted in packing them up, and emptied all their bee-hives for these pretended friends.

The white people now expressed a desire to see Salem, and a party of them were conducted thither and received with much friendship. Here they pretended to have the same good will and affection towards the Indians, as at Gnadenhutten, and easily persuaded them to return with them. By the way they feigned great piety, and entered into much spiritual conversation with the Indians, some of whom spoke English well. In the mean time the defenceless Indians at Gnadenhutten were suddenly attacked and driven together by the white people, and without resistance seized and bound. The Salem Indians now met the same fate. Before they entered Gnadenhutten, they were at once surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns and even of their pocket knives, and brought bound into the settlement. Soon after this, the murderers held a council, and resolved, by a majority of votes, to murder them all the very next day (March 8). Those who were of a different opinion* wrung their hands, calling God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Christian Indians. But the majority remained unmoved, and only differed concerning the mode of execution. Some were for burning them alive, others for taking their scalps, and the latter was at last agreed upon; upon which one of the murderers was sent to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were Christian Indians, they might prepare themselves in a Christian manner, for they must all die tomorrow.

It may be easily conceived, how great their terror was, at hearing a sentence so unexpected. However they soon recollected themselves and patiently suffered the murderers to lead them into two houses, in one of which the Brethren and in the other the Sisters and children were confined like sheep ready for slaughter. They spent their last night here below in prayer, and in mutual exhortation to remain

* One of these privately carried off a little boy, eight years old, named Benjamin, and took him to his home. Many years afterwards he returned to the Indian country.

faithful unto the end. They assured each other of their love and forgiveness; and then they all united in singing praises to God their Saviour, in the joyful hope, that they should soon be able to praise him without sin. While thus engaged, some of the murderers went to the Indian Brethren and showed great impatience that the execution had not yet begun, to which the Brethren replied, that they were all ready to die, having commended their immortal souls to God, who had given them a divine assurance in their hearts, that they should come unto him, and be with him for ever. Immediately after this declaration the carnage commenced. Neither women nor children were spared, all, without exception, were knocked down* and scalped.

Thus ninety-six persons magnified the name of the Lord, by patiently meeting a cruel death. Sixty-two were adults,† one-third of whom were women; the remaining thirty-four were children.

Only two youths, each between fifteen and sixteen years old, escaped almost miraculously from the hands of the murderers. One of them disengaged himself from his bonds, then slipping unobserved from the crowd, got into the cellar of that house in which the Sisters were executed. Their blood soon penetrated through the flooring, and according to his account, ran in streams into the cellar. He remained concealed till night, when, with much difficulty, he crept through a window, and escaped into a neighbouring

* Fourteen were knocked down by one man with a cooper's mallet, which he found in the house; he then handed the instrument to a fellow murderer, saying, "My arm fails me! go on in the same way! I think I have done pretty well."—A sister called Christina, who spoke English and German well, fell on her knees before the captain of the gang, and begged her life, but was told that he could not help her.

† Five of the slain were respectable national assistants; viz. Samuel Moore, Tobias, Jonas, Isaac Glikkikan and John Martin. The two former had been members of the pious missionary Brainerd's congregation in New Jersey, and after his death joined themselves to the Brethren. The first understood the English language, and could read well. He and John Martin were chapel interpreters. The name of Isaac Glikkikan has been frequently mentioned. He was a man of superior understanding; faithful to his teachers, and distinguished by his prudence and fearlessness in time of danger.

thicket.* The other youth's name was Thomas. The murderers struck him only one blow on the head, took his scalp, and left him. After some time he recovered his senses and saw himself surrounded by bleeding corpses. Among these he observed one brother, called Abel, still alive and endeavouring to raise himself up; but one of the murderers coming in, and observing this, instantly dispatched him. Thomas lay as still as though he had been dead, until it was dark, though suffering the most exquisite torment. He then ventured to creep towards the door, and observing nobody in the neighbourhood, got out and escaped into the wood, where he afterwards met the other lad. God preserved them from harm on their journey to Sandusky, though they purposely took a long circuit, and suffered great hardships and danger. But before they left the neighbourhood of Gnadenhutten they observed the murderers from behind the thicket making merry after their successful enterprise, and at last setting fire to the two slaughter-houses filled with corpses.

Providentially the believing Indians, who were at that time in Shonbrun, escaped. For the missionaries, upon receiving orders to repair to Fort Detroit, had sent a messenger to the Muskingum to call the Indians home, with a view to see them once more. This messenger arrived at Shonbrun the day before the murderers came to Gnadenhutten, and the Indians of Shonbrun sent another messenger to Gnadenhutten to inform their Brethren there and at Salem of the message they had received. But before he reached Gnadenhutten, he found young Shebosh lying dead and scalped by the way side, and looking forward, saw many white people in and about the place. He instantly ran back with great precipitation and told the Indians in Shonbrun what he had seen, who all took flight and ran into the woods. They now hesitated a long while, not knowing whither to turn or how to proceed. So that when the murderers arrived at Shonbrun the Indians were still

* Another lad had also made his way into the cellar; but in attempting to escape (being bulkier than his comrade) he stuck fast in the window, and it is supposed was burnt alive.

near the premises, and might easily have been discovered. But here the sanguinary crew seemed as if struck with blindness. Finding nobody, they destroyed and set fire to the settlement, and having done the same at Gnadenhutten and Salem, they set off with the scalps of their innocent victims, about fifty horses, and other plunder, and marched to Pittsburg, with a view to murder the Indians lately settled on the north side of the Ohio, opposite to the Fort. The greater part fell a sacrifice to the rage of this blood-thirsty gang; a few escaped. Among the latter was Anthony, a member of the congregation, who happened then to be at Pittsburg; both he and the Indians of Shonbrun arrived after many dangers and difficulties safe at Sandusky.

It afterwards appeared from the New York papers, in which the Christian Indians are called Moravian Indians, and represented in a very unfavourable light, that the murderers had been prevented, for the present, from proceeding to Sandusky to destroy the remnant of the congregation.

The following remark of some savages on this occasion deserves particular notice: "We intended to draw our friends, the believing Indians, back into heathenism, but God disapproved of it, and therefore took them to himself."

To describe the grief and terror of the Indian congregation, on hearing that so large a number of its members were thus cruelly massacred, is impossible. Parents wept and mourned for the loss of their children, husbands for their wives, wives for their husbands, children for their parents, brothers for their sisters, and sisters for their brothers. And having now also lost their teachers, who used to sympathize with and take a share in all their sorrows and strengthen their reliance upon the faithfulness of God, their grief was almost insupportable. But they murmured not, nor did they call for vengeance upon the murderers, but prayed for them: and their greatest consolation was a full assurance that all their beloved relations were now at home, in the presence of the Lord, and in full possession of everlasting happiness.

Br. Shebosh, who had proceeded to Bethlehem after his release from captivity, received the news of the cruel murder of his son with the deepest affliction. All the congregations of the United Brethren both in America and Europe took the most affecting share in this great calamity; silently bowing before the Lord, whose ways are often unsearchable, but always replete with justice and truth.

It appears that the murderers did not destroy the believing Indians on account of their being Christians, but merely because they were Indians, and therefore they would not even spare the infant children. We will not, therefore, compare them with the martyrs of the ancient church, who were sacrificed to the rage of their persecutors on account of their faith in Christ. But we can confidently assert, that these Christian Indians approved themselves to the end as stedfast confessors of the truth, and though conscious of their innocence, were yet resigned to the will of God, patiently submitting to be led as sheep to the slaughter, and having commended their souls to their Creator and Redeemer, delivered themselves without resistance to the cruel hands of their blood-thirsty murderers, and thus in death bore witness to the truth and efficacy of the Gospel of Jesus. The murderers themselves afterwards acknowledged that they were *good* Indians, "for," said they, "they sung and prayed to their last breath." This testimony of the truth will preach to every thinking mind, as long as the remembrance of this bloody massacre exists.

We now return to the missionaries. When they left Sandusky, they were accompanied a considerable way by a large part of their weeping congregation, and by some as far as Lower Sandusky. They were also obliged to spend several nights in the open air, and suffered great cold, besides other hardships. But the Lord graciously supported the Sisters and children, so that they were able to bear it. Their conductor behaved with kindness towards them; and as they were in great want of provisions, God inclined the hearts of several persons to assist them. In Lower Sandusky the travellers were detained for a considerable time, and here they were informed, by some Indian Brethren

who brought their baggage after them, of every circumstance relating to the murder of the believing Indians on the Muskingum, by which their minds, already grievously afflicted, were filled with inexpressible anguish; for they mourned like parents, who had lost their own children in the most cruel manner. They write—"This account was heart-rending indeed, and God alone can comfort and support us under it."

April 11th the English officer who had been ordered to conduct the missionaries to Fort Detroit, arrived with a party of Indian warriors in Lower Sandusky. He behaved like a madman towards the missionaries, and with horrid oaths threatened several times to split their skulls with a hatchet. He then sat drinking all night in the house where he lodged, raving worse than any drunken savage. But the Lord protected the missionaries and their families from all harm. At length the Governor of Detroit sent two vessels with a corporal and fourteen riflemen, who brought a written order, to take the missionaries from Lower Sandusky, to treat them with all possible kindness, and in case of stormy weather, not to endanger their lives in crossing Lake Erie; adding, that whoever did them the least injury should be called to account for it. This threat kept the above-mentioned English officer in awe, and he stayed behind in Sandusky to the great satisfaction of the travellers.

They set out on the 14th, and crossing over a part of the lake, arrived at Detroit by the straits which join the Lakes Erie and Huron. Here a large room in the barracks, just fitted up for an officer's dwelling, was given them, by order of the Governor. He soon came to see them, and assured them, that though many new accusations had been made against them, yet he considered them as perfectly innocent, and had not sent for them on that account, but merely for their own safety having the most authentic intelligence that their lives were in imminent danger as long as they resided at Sandusky. He further left it entirely to their own option, to remain at Detroit, or to go to Bethlehem, and gave orders that they should be supplied with

every thing they stood in need of. Some weeks after, they left the barracks with his consent, and moved into a house at a small distance from the town, where they enjoyed more rest and quiet.

In the mean time the Indian congregation was brought into the most precarious situation. After the departure of the missionaries, the Indian assistants continued to meet and exhort the congregation in the usual regular manner. An English trader who visited Sandusky, and was present at several of their meetings, related, that he had heard them sing hymns and exhort each other, till they wept together like children, which greatly affected him. But some false brethren among them took this occasion to show their perfidy, and occasioned much uneasiness. Besides this, the Half-king of the Hurons was so continually reminded of his treacherous and cruel behaviour by the presence of the Christian Indians, that he sent them a peremptory order to quit the country, and seek a dwelling in some other place. It appeared indeed, as if no place was left where these persecuted Indians might have rest for the soles of their feet. For they lived between two contending parties, one of which had plundered and led them away captive and the other had murdered a great number of them. They could expect no protection from the white people, and the heathen hunted them as outlaws from one region to the other. Yet they had one great and inestimable source of comfort:—"The Lord our God liveth," said they, "and he will not forsake us." However, the contempt they suffered and the scoffing of the heathen were sometimes very grievous:—"Let us see," said the latter, "whether that God, of whom the Christians talk so much, describing him as a great and almighty Lord, and placing all their confidence in him, will protect and deliver them, and whether he is stronger than our gods."

They resolved at length to make no resistance, but, as it seemed to be the will of God to permit them to be scattered, patiently to submit. One part, therefore, went into the country of the Shawanose, the rest stayed some time in the neighbourhood of Pipestown, and then resolved to

proceed further to the Miami river. This dispersion of the believing Indians put a period, for some time, to the existence of the congregation. But it was not long before the gracious providence of God was discernible in this event. The same gang of murderers, who had committed the massacre on the Muskingum, did not give up their bloody design upon the remnant of the Indian congregation, though it was delayed for a season. They marched in May, 1782, to Sandusky, where they found nothing but empty huts.* Thus it became evident that the transportation of the missionaries to Detroit happened by the kind permission of God. For had they remained in Sandusky, the Indian congregation would not have been dispersed, and consequently, in all probability, have been murdered. And thus this painful event, which at first seemed to threaten destruction to the whole mission, saved the lives of the Indians in two different instances, first by the message sent to Shonbrun, and secondly by the dispersion of the whole flock.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE dispersion of the Indian congregation was more particularly painful to the missionaries, as they justly feared, that the souls of the believing Indians would suffer great injury by their converse with the heathen. They, therefore, far from making use of the liberty given them by the Governor to return to Bethlehem, resolved, from motives of duty and affection, to use their utmost exertions, by degrees to gather their scattered flock. In this view they took steps to build a new settlement and to invite the believing Indians to return to them. After several conferences with the Governor, who much approved of their plan, he proposed a spot about thirty miles from Detroit, on the river Huron, which, upon examination, they found very convenient for the purpose. The Chippewas, to whom that country belonged, gave their consent with the

* A few days afterwards they were attacked by a party of English and Indian warriors, and the greater part of them cut to pieces.

usual solemnities, and the Governor generously sent a message with a string of wampum to all the dispersed Christian Indians, to give them notice of this transaction, and to invite them to rejoin their teachers, promising, that they should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience and be supplied with provisions and other necessaries of life.

The consequence of this measure was, that on the 2nd of July the missionaries had the inexpressible satisfaction to bid two families of their beloved Indian flock welcome. These were soon followed by Abraham, a venerable assistant, Br. Richard Connor, and their families, with several others.

The missionaries now began their usual daily meetings with the Indians, and met in the open air for want of a chapel. They were commonly joined by the neighbours, and other strangers, to whom it was a new and interesting sight, and the sweet singing of the Christian Indians was particularly admired. Here the missionaries had a good opportunity of bearing many a testimony of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom they invited all the weary and heavy laden. As they were frequently desired to baptize children or to bury the dead, they improved these opportunities to preach the Gospel both in the English and German languages. Brother Zeisberger delivered also several discourses to the prisoners, many inhabitants of Detroit being present. By this time twenty-eight believing Indians had returned to the missionaries, and they therefore resolved to begin the building of the new settlement. The Governor liberally assisted them in various ways, furnished them with provisions, boats, planks and the necessary utensils from the royal stores, and gave them some horses and cows. His Lady also presented them with a valuable assortment of seeds and roots.

July 20th, 1782, Zeisberger, with three other missionaries, and nineteen Indian Brethren and Sisters, set out from Fort Detroit. Next day they arrived on the river Huron, where they marked out a settlement, calling it New-Gnadenhutten. In the evening they assembled to thank and

praise the Lord for his mercy, and to implore his assistance, grace and protection in future.

They now entered cheerfully upon the work, built huts of bark, laid out gardens and plantations, for which they found good soil, and maintained themselves by hunting and fishing. Here were also sassafras trees of a larger size than they had seen any where else. But salt was a rare article, and could not be had even for money; they therefore acknowledged it as a blessing of God, when they discovered some salt springs which yielded a sufficient quantity. In the beginning they were so tormented by the stings of all manner of insects, particularly musquitoes, that they were obliged constantly to keep up and lie in a thick smoke. But the more they cleared the ground of the under-wood with which it was every where covered, the more the insects decreased in numbers. They had no where met so few serpents.

Towards the end of the month, those who had stayed in Detroit followed them; and on the 21st of September they had a solemn celebration of the Lord's Supper, which appeared as new to the Indians, as if they now partook of it for the first time. By degrees more of the dispersed flocked together. They had been in great danger of their lives in the country of the Shawanose, and escaped only by a precipitate flight.

In autumn the Chippewas began to visit New-Gnadenhutten, and behaved with friendliness and modesty. But as to the Gospel, which the Indian assistants preached to them with great zeal, they only heard it with silent attention. The Chippewas are generally esteemed the best and most peaceable among the Indian tribes, but they are very indolent, plant but little, live chiefly by hunting, boil acorns as sauce to their meat, and even like the Calmuck Tartars eat the flesh of dead horses.

November 5th, the small flock of believing Indians met to consecrate their new church, and having enjoyed great blessing during the celebration of the festival of our Lord's nativity, closed this year of weeping and sorrow, with

praise and thanksgiving, humbly adoring the Lord for the wise and gracious leading of His providence.

The missionaries now began again, as formerly, to preach the Gospel with boldness, and saw with pleasure, that the word of the cross proved also here to be the power of God unto salvation to some of the savages.

God also blessed the Indians in externals. The maple-sugar boiling turned out well beyond expectation. In hunting they had extraordinary success, and their trade consisted chiefly in bartering venison and skins for Indian corn and other necessaries of life. They also made canoes, baskets and other articles, for which they found good custom at Detroit.

In May, 1783, the missionaries received the joyful news of the conclusion of peace between England and the United States, and in July they had the pleasure to see the Brn. Weygand and Shebosh arrive from Bethlehem, after a journey of above seven weeks. By these Brethren they received an account of the sympathizing share which the whole Unity of the Brethren both in America and Europe took in their great afflictions, and derived great consolation from this proof of brotherly love. Shebosh, whose wife and family had already settled at New-Gnadenhutten, stayed with them, but Weygand returned in September with Michael Young.

The greater part of the Indian congregation was yet scattered among the heathen, mostly in the country of the Twichtwees, about 250 miles south-west of New-Gnadenhutten. The missionaries omitted no opportunity of sending verbal messages to invite them to come to the new settlement, but the bearers perverted their contents, from motives of malice and treachery. The enemies of the Gospel spared no pains to cherish the fears which the believing Indians had of the white people, and especially of the English Government, merely with a view to hinder the re-union of the congregation, and, if possible, to detain the greater part in the clutches of the heathen. They were truly as sheep among wolves, exposed to numberless vexations, and robbed by the savages even of the little they

had saved. New-Gnadenhutten was described to them as a very desolate and dangerous place, where they would meet with certain death. Some heathen Chiefs commanded them in an authoritative tone, to be resigned to their fate and resume the heathen manner of living, "for now," said they, "not a single word of the Gospel shall be any more heard in the Indian country."

Accounts of these painful occurrences arrived from time to time at New-Gnadenhutten, and as no outward measures could be contrived to help the afflicted people, the whole congregation was the more earnest in offering up prayer and supplication unto God, that he himself would search and seek out his scattered flock. These prayers were graciously answered. For in the summer of 1783 three young Indians came to New-Gnadenhutten, that with their own eyes they might discover the truth. One of them stayed there, but the other two speedily returned, to carry the good news of what they had seen and heard to the rest. On hearing this report forty-three of their companions set out immediately, and arrived in safety at New-Gnadenhutten, where the joy of all was inexpressible. Others followed from time to time, nor would they be kept back either by cunning insinuations or force. A baptized woman was threatened by her relations, who belonged to the family of a principal Chief, that if she returned to the believing Indians, all her fine clothes should be taken from her. "What drives me to my teachers," said she, "is the concern I feel for the welfare of my soul and eternal happiness. What can it avail, though I possess a house filled with fine clothes, silver and other precious things, if, after all, my poor soul is lost?"

Many of these scattered sheep, however, found cause to mourn, even with bitter tears, over the damage done to their souls by their late intercourse with the heathen, which now grieved them much more than all the misfortunes they had otherwise experienced. On this account some of them were very bashful, and upon their arrival at New-Gnadenhutten durst not so much as ask leave to dwell

there. But they were all received with open arms, and treated with brotherly love and compassion. Others stayed through fear among the savages, and some fell back into heathenism.

In all these events it became more evident than ever, that God had been pleased to permit the Indian congregation to be sifted as wheat, that all who were not of Israel's right kind might fall through. The missionaries were therefore the more thankful for the evident proofs of the work of the Holy Ghost in the hearts of those who returned, and who soon recovered a full participation of all the blessings and privileges enjoyed in the fellowship of believers.

By the accounts brought by several who returned to the Brethren, it appeared that the three tribes of the Delaware nation had frequent and violent disputes, concerning the deplorable fate of the Indian congregation. Those of the Wolf under the command of Captain Pipe, had sworn destruction to the Brethren, and made the ruin of the Gospel the chief aim of their warlike proceedings. Finding themselves disappointed at last, and not able, with all their lies and cunning, to hinder the scattered Indian Brethren from following their teachers, they were greatly enraged. The other two tribes, who had never consented to their proceedings, now reproached them in the most bitter terms on account of their malice and folly.

In the beginning of the year 1784 a most extraordinary frost set in, extending over the whole country about New-Gnadenhutten. All the rivers and lakes were frozen, and in some places the snow lay five or six feet deep. The ice on the river Huron did not break till the 4th of April, and Lake St. Clair was not free in the beginning of May.

As no one expected so long and severe a winter, there was no provision made either for man or beast. The night-frosts in the preceding autumn had destroyed a great part of the promising harvest of Indian corn, and thus the Indians soon began to feel want. The deep snow prevented all hunting. The Indians were therefore obliged to disperse to seek a livelihood wherever they could get it, and

some lived upon nothing but wild herbs. At length a general famine prevailed, and the hollow eyes and emaciated countenances of the poor people were a sad token of their distress. Yet they appeared always resigned and cheerful, and God in due season relieved them. A large herd of deer * strayed unexpectedly into the neighbourhood of New-Gnadenhutten, of which the Indians shot above a hundred, though the cold was then so intense, that several returned with frozen feet, owing chiefly to their wearing snow shoes.

They now began again to barter venison for Indian corn at Detroit, and thus were delivered from the danger of suffering the same extremity of distress as in Sandusky. As soon as the snow melted, they went in search of wild potatoes, and came home loaded with them. When the ice was gone, they went out, and caught an extraordinary number of fishes. Bilberries were their next resource, and they gathered great quantities, soon after which they reaped their crops of Indian corn, and God blessed them with a very rich harvest, so that there was not one who lacked any thing.

Towards the end of May, the Governor of Detroit, now Colonel De Peyster, removed to Niagara, and both the missionaries and the believing Indians sincerely regretted the loss of this humane man, their kind friend and benefactor. He recommended them to the favour of his worthy successor, Major Ancrom, in whom they found the same benevolent disposition towards them.

The industry of the Indians had now rendered New-Gnadenhutten a very pleasant and regular town, and it was

* The deer came to feed on the *scrub grass* (Equisetum hyemale) which grew in great abundance along the river banks; the high wind having blown off the snow. The Indians upon this discovery sent out their cattle and they grew fat upon it. The pigs also chewed the stalks for the sake of the juice, which was their chief food at this time. Even the fowls eat it, when chopped small. But to the horses (after some weeks) it proved fatal; on examining into the cause of this, it was found that their stomachs were worn quite thin, and full of small holes; whereas, with oxen and deer, who chew the cud, the roughness of the grass had not this effect.

visited by many white people, who heard here the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which doubtless had a good effect on some. As no ordained Protestant divine resided in Detroit at that time, the missionaries, at the request of the parents, baptized several children, when they visited the Fort. Some parents also brought their children to New-Gnadenhutten, to be baptized there.

The peace and rest the believing Indians now enjoyed was particularly sweet after such terrible scenes of trouble and distress. But towards the end of the year 1784 it appeared that they would likewise be obliged to quit this place. Some of the Chippewas expressed their dissatisfaction, that the believing Indians should form a settlement in a country which had been their chief hunting place, and pretended that they had only allowed them to live there till peace should be established. They even threatened to murder some of them, in order to compel the rest to quit the country. Added to this, the Governor of Detroit sent word to the believing Indians, that they should not continue to clear land and build, nothing being yet fixed as to the territory by government. The missionaries therefore thought it most prudent to take steps to return to the south side of Lake Erie, and to settle near the river Walhalding. This proposal being approved of by the congregation, preparations were made to emigrate in the following spring.

But the daily worship of the congregation went on unmolested and in a regular course, and the growth of the Indians in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of themselves, was greatly promoted. They could rejoice in an extraordinary manner over the young people, whose internal prosperity exceeded all their expectations. The baptism of several adults about this time, also afforded peculiar pleasure to the missionaries.

During the winter the wolves became very troublesome. They traversed the country in packs, seeking food, and tore a Chippewa Indian and his wife to pieces, not far from the settlement. One of the Indian Brethren was chased for several miles on the ice by some of these voracious animals,

but being furnished with skates, he got the start of them and escaped.

The believing Indians had now made all the necessary preparations to leave New-Gnadenhutten. But some unexpected accounts of hostilities among the savages rendered every thing so uncertain, that even the Governor of Detroit advised them not to emigrate at present. They therefore resolved to plant once more on the river Huron.

In May 1785 the missionaries Youngman and Senseman returned with their families from New-Gnadenhutten to Bethlehem. They took a very affecting leave of their beloved Indian Brethren, with whom they had faithfully shared the greatest anxiety, distress and affliction. The mission was now under the care of the Brethren Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and Edwards. The latter went in July with three Indian Brethren to Pittsburg with a view to gain certain information concerning the state of affairs in the Indian country, and to search out for a proper situation on the river Walhalding to establish a new settlement. In Pittsburg he was told, that strictly speaking not an inch of land to the east of Lake Erie could be called Indian country, the United States having claimed every part of it; but he was also informed that Congress had expressly reserved the district belonging to the three settlements of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum to be measured out and given to them. The same intelligence he likewise received from the Philadelphia papers, and hastened home to acquaint the Indian congregation with this unexpected decision in their favour, which occasioned universal joy. But one circumstance after the other tended to delay their removal. The Indian nations seemed resolved to carry on the war against the United States; and a great part of the Delawares and Shawanose declared their intention to oppose the return of the believing Indians by force.

In September, above forty strange Indians came on a visit to New-Gnadenhutten This was the first visit of the kind the Brethren had received on the river Huron, and it gave them great joy to perceive that in many the Gospel found entrance. One of them spoke afterwards with one of

the assistants, and said, "That he was anxious to be saved, but not having found the way to happiness among the wild Indians, he hoped to find it among the believers. One thing only," added he, "makes me doubt and hesitate: I am a wicked sinner, and have shed much human blood in war. When I consider this, I think I hear somebody say: It is all in vain; do not think of being saved: you cannot be converted, for you have committed too many sins. But yet I wish to know, whether there be help for me, and whether there be any one among the believers, who has been as great a sinner as I am." This gave the assistant an opportunity to declare to him the great love of Jesus to the worst of sinners, assuring him that he would also pardon and save murderers, having done it when hanging on the cross. The same heathen one day related to a party, who arrived too late to attend the sermon, what he had heard and retained in his memory; viz.: "That we may receive the forgiveness of sins, new life and happiness in Jesus Christ alone, who had purchased all these blessings for us by his bitter sufferings and death upon the cross; that he is the true God, and our only Saviour." He added, "Much more has been told us, but thus much I have kept in my memory."

Soon after this visit, another large party of Delawares, Mahikans, and Nantikoks, came to New-Gnadenhutten, and their behaviour gave great satisfaction both to the missionaries and their congregation. They did not miss one opportunity of hearing the Gospel, being remarkably attentive, and even desiring the assistants further to explain the words of the missionaries to them, so that there was reason to hope that the seed of the word would fall upon good ground, and bring forth fruit in due season.

In the beginning of the year 1786, the Indians received another message, that the Chippewa Chief, upon whose land they had settled, was determined not to suffer them to stay any longer. Besides th' a band of murderers of the Chippewa tribe rendered the whole neighbourhood very unsafe. The missionaries, therefore, resolved, notwithstanding the threats of the savages beyond Lake Erie, to

accomplish their design of emigrating this spring, and even though they could not at present take possession of their lands on the Muskingum, to settle in the first convenient place they should find. The Governor approved of the plan, and procured for them some compensation for their houses and plantations on the river Huron. He also humanely offered them vessels to carry the whole congregation at once to Cayahaga, and to furnish them there with provisions. They accepted of this kind offer, as proceeding from the gracious interference of the Lord in their behalf, and were thus at once delivered from an embarrassing situation.

CHAPTER XIX.

On the 20th of April, 1786, the congregation met for the last time in the chapel at New-Guadenhutten, to offer up praise and prayer unto the Lord, thanking him for all the benefits and mercies received in this place, and commending themselves to his grace and protection. Then they all set out in twenty-two canoes, except the family of Richard Connor, who stayed behind. At Detroit they were well received by the Governor and treated with great hospitality for several days. By consent of the agent of Indian affairs, a meeting was held between the Brethren and several Chippewa Chiefs, one of the king's interpreters attending. The deputies of the Indian congregation expressed their gratitude to the Chiefs for allowing them to take refuge in their country, where they had now lived four years in peace and safety, and informed them of their intention to return to their own home beyond the Lake. They then presented the Chippewas with a bundle of some thousands of wampum. One of the Chiefs, rising and holding a string of wampum in his hand, said—"Grandfather! we love you, and would rather that you would stay with us, and return to the river Huron." This empty compliment was, however, contradicted by another Chief on the same day.

The following circumstance gave peculiar joy to the mis-

sionaries: the whole neighbourhood acknowledged the believing Indians to be not only an industrious, but an *honest* people, insomuch that the traders in Detroit never refused them credit, being sure of punctual payments. However, some of them were not sufficiently cautious, especially during the famine, when they were obliged to run into debt. One trader alone had a claim of 200*l.* sterling upon them, so that the missionaries feared, that disagreeable consequences might ensue. But the Indian Brethren began betimes to work hard for it, and at their departure, paid all their debts to the last farthing. There was only one poor man, who, being the father of many children, could not find money to pay, and, therefore, came to make his distress known to the missionaries. They were immediately willing to assist him, but it happened meanwhile, that as his wife was walking in the fields with the children, one of them found a guinea. She first took it to be a piece of brass, till the missionaries informed her of its value, when the father immediately went to his creditor, paid his debt, and had a few shillings to spare.

April the 28th the travellers went on board of two trading vessels, called the Beaver and the Makina, belonging to the North-West Company, which Mr. Asking, a partner and director, had kindly provided. They had a good voyage till they arrived at the Bass Islands, where their patience was tried for four weeks, the wind being contrary the whole time. Once, indeed, it blew a gale in their favour, and they set sail in good earnest; but, suddenly, the wind shifted and drove them to their former station. Most of the Indians were so sick during the gale, that they lay on the deck half dead and senseless. To prevent their rolling overboard, the captain ordered them to be fastened to the deck.

May 28th a vessel came from Detroit to recall the Beaver; the Makina was then ordered to carry the congregation over to Cayahaga in two divisions. But as this would have lasted too long, and might have occasioned great inconvenience, for want of provisions, the captains agreed to a proposal made by the missionaries, to land the people in two

divisions at Sandusky bay, and then to carry the baggage to Cayahaga. The wind shifting in their favour, the first division, led by Zeisberger, sailed on the 29th; but being unable to reach Sandusky, they went on shore at Rocky Point, about 80 miles from that bay. Here they had to ascend very high and steep rocks, and to cut a way through the thicket to their summit, but yet were glad to set their feet on land again.

They had hardly pitched their camp, before a party of Ottawas, who were hunting in that neighbourhood, rode towards them, and expressed great astonishment to find such a large number of people encamped in this pathless desert. The Indians treated them as hospitably as their circumstances would permit, and were in return presented with some deer's flesh, and informed of the manner in which they might best make a way through the forests which they had still to pass. The day following they all set out on foot, and every one, the missionary and his wife not excepted, was loaded with a proportionable part of the provisions. Those who formed the van had the greatest difficulties to encounter, being obliged to cut and break their way through the thicket. They soon arrived at a large brook running through a swamp, across which all the Indians, both men and women, waded, some being up to their shoulders in the water. Some of the children were carried, others swam, and Zeisberger and his wife were brought over upon a barrow, carried by four of the Indian Brethren. When they arrived at Sandusky, they hired boats of the Ottawas, and crossed the bay on the 3rd of June. On the following day, a French vessel carried them over the river Pettquotting, where the second division of the congregation led by Heckewelder, overtook them in slight canoes, made hastily of bark, the sloop Makina having sailed with the heavy baggage straight for Cayahaga.

The whole congregation now travelled together, one half on foot along the coast of the lake, and the other in canoes, keeping as close as possible to the shore. June 7th, they arrived at the celebrated rocks on the south coast of Lake Erie. They rise forty or fifty feet perpendicular out of the

water, and are in many places so undermined by the waves, that they seem considerably to project over the lake. Some parts of them consist of several strata of different colours, lying in an horizontal direction, and so exactly parallel that they resemble the work of art. The foot passengers had a noble view of this magnificent work of nature, but though the prospect from the water was yet more grand, the Indians passed with trembling, thanking God that the wind proved favourable and gentle; for if the least storm arises, the force of the surf is such, that no vessel could escape being dashed to pieces against the rocks. Whenever the heathen pass by these rocks, they sacrifice some tobacco to the water. Here the river Cayahaga, sometimes called the Great River, empties itself into the lake. After the canoes, the sloop also arrived safe, and drifted so near the shore in a calm, that the baggage could be taken out and carried to land in canoes, upon which the sloop returned to Detroit.

Want of provisions made the travelling congregation soon hasten their departure from the mouth of the Cayahaga. Indeed they found a large storehouse filled with flour; but not meeting with its owner, they would not take any, though pressed by hunger, and also observing that the neighbouring Chippewas robbed the store in a clandestine manner. They now built canoes, some of wood and some of bark, and continued their voyage up the river, till they arrived on the 18th of June at an old town, about 140 miles distant from Pittsburgh, which had been forsaken by the Ottawas. This was the first spot they discovered, fit for a settlement; for from the mouth of the river to this place, they had met with nothing but a wild forest.

Being entire strangers to the state of the adjacent country, they resolved to spend the summer here. They first encamped on the east side of the river, upon an elevated plain, which was called *Pilgerruh* (Pilgrims' Rest).

Here they regulated their daily worship in the usual manner, re-established the statutes of the congregation, and God blessed their labours. August the 13th they partook of the Lord's Supper for the first time on this spot,

which to them was the most important and blessed of all festivals.

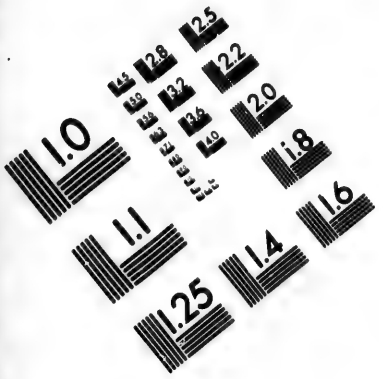
In externals, God granted them his gracious assistance. Zeisberger having given information of the arrival of the Indian congregation at the Cayahaga Creek to the Governor of Pittsburg, Congress ordered a quantity of Indian corn and blankets to be given them. They also found means to purchase several necessary articles from traders, passing through on their way from Pittsburg to Detroit, and as they had an opportunity of going by water to Sandusky and Pettquotting, they easily procured Indian corn from these places. The 200 dollars, which they had received for their houses and fields on the river Huron, enabled them to make their payments good. In hunting deer, bears, and moose-deer they were remarkably successful. The congregation at Bethlehem had charitably collected a considerable quantity of different articles, to supply the necessities of the Christian Indians, but these, having been detained on the road, did not arrive at Pilgerruh till August, 1786, when they were equally divided among all; the children even received their share, and the whole congregation expressed in the most lively terms their sincere acknowledgments to their kind benefactors. Salt was not so easily procured here as on the river Huron, the salt springs being a great way off.

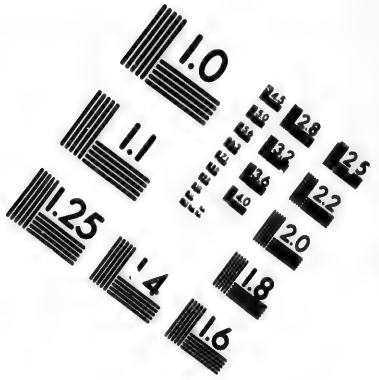
Though the Indians were again comfortably settled, yet their minds were still bent upon returning as soon as possible to their settlements on the river Muskingum. But they were soon cautioned, from the best authority, not to proceed on their journey, as some white traders had been lately plundered and murdered there by the savages. They now clearly discovered, why God had graciously permitted them to be detained so long on the islands in Lake Erie. Had the voyage been expeditious, they would have arrived on the Muskingum before the murder of these white people, and of course have been again brought into the most perilous situation. Some Indian Brethren having travelled by land to the river Muskingum, with a view to await the arrival of the congregation, happened to be

at Shonbrun at the time of the above-mentioned murder, and saved themselves by a timely flight: for as a great number of white people went out immediately in pursuit of the murderers, the Indian Brethren would doubtless have been taken for them and fallen a sacrifice to their revenge. Many other circumstances plainly proved, that no settled peace was yet established between the Indian nations, who were all waiting for a renewal of hostilities; alleging, that the war-hatchet put into their hands so[illegible] time ago, had not been taken from them and bu[illegible], but only laid aside for a short time. The American militia were also still greatly enraged at the Indians, and threatened to kill the Brethren, if they should attempt to return to their settlements on the Muskingum. The Christian Indians, therefore, thought it most advisable to remain at Pilgerruh, till God himself should point out the way, if it was his gracious will that they should proceed.

The first Indian brother who departed this life at Cayahaga was Thomas, who as a youth had been scalped at Gnadenhutten. He then escaped from the general massacre, but was now drowned in the river as he was fishing. Since he lost his scalp, he was afflicted with so violent a rheumatism in the head, that it frequently took away his senses. This was probably the occasion of his death, for he was an excellent swimmer, and his body was found in shallow water.

Pilgerruh was often visited by Chippewas, Ottawas, and Delawares, who expressed a wish to hear the Gospel, which the Brethren preached to them with much pleasure. But here they again met with a source of trouble, which they had not experienced at the river Huron. For several heathen Indians, who had relations among the believers, came and endeavoured to persuade weak minds to return to heathenism. Their seductive insinuations so far gained upon a married woman, that she forsook her husband, and with her children followed her heathen friends. But the husband with some courageous Indian Brethren pursued them, and by force brought both his wife and chil-





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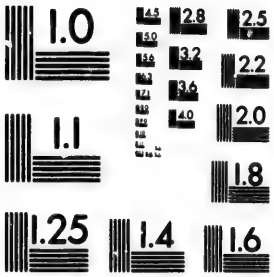

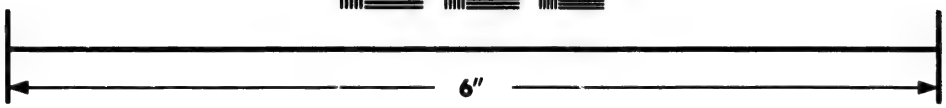

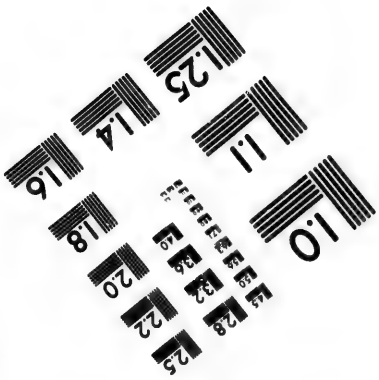

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dren back, to the great joy of the woman, who had already sincerely repented of her rash conduct.

In September, 1786, the missionaries sent some messengers to the dispersed Christian Indians, admonishing them not to lose their courage or to think that they were now too much entangled with the heathen, and cast off by God, but to go with boldness to Jesus, our compassionate Lord and Saviour, cast themselves upon his mercy and return to their brethren. In consequence of this message, many returned.

In October the missionary John Heckewelder took an affecting leave of the Indian congregation, whom he had served for many years with great faithfulness, and returned with his family to Bethlehem.

Zeisberger and Edwards were now left alone to care for the mission. They had but lately recovered from severe illnesses, and had to surmount many difficulties attending their hard labour. But they put their trust in God, determined to employ all the remaining powers of their souls and bodies with joy in his service.

Meanwhile the Brethren at Bethlehem received repeated assurances from Congress that their endeavours to propagate the Gospel among the Indian tribes should be supported. The Indians were likewise informed that they had leave to go back to their former settlements on the river Muskingum, where they might be assured of the friendship and protection of Government, and that immediately upon their arrival 500 bushels of Indian corn should be given them from the public magazines on the river Ohio, with other necessaries of life.

The Indians accepted this kind promise with great gratitude, and rejoiced in the prospect of taking possession of their own land on the Muskingum. In the mean time they doubted not but that they should be left undisturbed at Pilgerruh, and there have the pleasure to see their dispersed Brethren gather unto them from the heathen. But on the 17th of October a messenger arrived late in the evening from Captain Pipe, with an account that the Ame-

ricans had surprised the towns of the Shawanose, killed ten men, burnt and pillaged the houses and carried away thirty women and children prisoners: that besides this, an army had arrived from Pittsburg at Tuscarawi, and therefore the inhabitants of Pilgerruh were advised to fly immediately, lest they also should be surprised by the enemy. The latter seemed so incredible, that the missionaries endeavoured to persuade the Indians to the contrary. But all their arguments were in vain. The horrid massacre on the Muskingum in the year 1782 immediately presented itself to their imaginations, and they were so overcome with fear and dread, that in the same night all the women and children fled into the thickest part of the wood to hide themselves. On the following day, field huts were erected for them, where they might shelter themselves from the cold, and the Indian Brethren brought them provisions. In the evening of the 27th, a great noise and the sound of many horse-bells was distinctly heard. The missionaries supposed it to proceed from a transport of flour, which proved true; but the Indians would not even listen to their representations, but imagining that the army was now approaching to surprise and kill them, fled with precipitation into the woods, and left the missionaries quite alone in the settlement. In the following days they recovered by degrees from their fright, and all returned to their dwellings.

November 10th, a new and spacious chapel was consecrated, but they built only a few dwelling-houses, most of the Indians being content to spend the winter in poor huts slightly reared; for they considered themselves here as guests, and therefore gave this place only the name of a night's lodging, that is, a year's residence. Thus they suffered much from the wet and snow, which was three feet deep.

Towards the close of the year Captain Pipe sent a belt of wampum to inform the Indians, "That as appearances among the Indian nations were very doubtful, and a new war would probably break out, the believing Indians were not well situated on the Cayahaga, but as much as ever in dan-

ger of being surprised by the white people: that he therefore would place them in Pettquotting, and order that country to be cleared for them, where they might always live in peace and security. That they should believe him to be sincere and accept of his offer." The Indians, fearing to raise new enemies, did not return the belt, and consequently by not giving a positive refusal, silently consented. Another message of the Delawares, sent at the instigation of an unfaithful baptized man, called Luke, inviting them in pressing terms to come to Sandusky, they answered resolutely in the negative.

In 1787 at a great council of the Indian tribes held at Sandusky, it was resolved, that the war with the United States of America should begin again with new vigour, and that if the Christian Indians would not of their own accord give up the idea of returning to the Muskingum they should be obliged to do it by force; that the missionaries should not be taken prisoners, but killed, in order at once to put an end to the mission. When this account came to Pilgerruh, the missionaries comforted the congregation representing to them in the most soothing terms, that though they might reasonably expect several heavy troubles, yet they ought to rest assured, that their firm and childlike confidence in God our Saviour would not be put to shame. This and similar exhortations had so salutary an effect, that the course of the congregation became peaceful and edifying.

In the same month the Iroquois sent a solemn embassy to the warlike nations, and especially to the Shawanose, advising them to keep peace. It was also reported that nine or ten tribes had, by the persuasion of the English Governor of Detroit, declared for peace, and that they would immediately proceed to punish such as should commence hostilities. The American commanders, however, advised the Indians to remain for the present at the Cayahaga, and to fetch the 500 bushels of corn, and other necessaries which had been promised them from Fort Intosh.

All these circumstances tended to distress the Indian

Brethren. Their own inclination was fixed to return to the Muskingum; yet they looked up to the missionaries for advice, in order to come to a final determination. Accustomed to venture their lives in the service of the Lord, the latter were unconcerned as to their own safety, and if that alone had been the point in question, they would not have hesitated a moment to return to the Muskingum. But they durst not bring the congregation committed to their care into so dreadful and dangerous a situation. They rather thought it their duty, to sacrifice every other consideration to the welfare and safety of their flock, and therefore after mature deliberation, resolved to propose to them that they should give up all thoughts of returning to the Muskingum for the present: at the same time not to remain on the Cayahaga but rather endeavour to find some spot between that river and Pettquotting where they might procure a peaceable and safe retreat. This proposal was solemnly accepted by the whole congregation. Soon after this a Delaware Chief sent the following message to Zeisberger:— "Grandfather! having heard that you propose to live on the Muskingum, I would advise you not to go thither this spring. I cannot yet tell you my reason; nor can I say, whether we shall have war or peace, but so much I can say, that it is not yet time. Do not think that I wish to oppose your preaching the word of God to the Indians. I am glad that you do this: but I advise you for your good. Go not to the Muskingum." This message tended to confirm the people in their resolution, which was undoubtedly the most prudent at that time; and in the beginning of April, some Indian Brethren were sent in search of a place for a new settlement, and found one much to their mind.

Meanwhile the congregation at Pilgerruh celebrated Lent and Easter in a blessed manner. The public reading of the history of our Lord's passion was attended with a remarkable impression on the hearts of all present. The people listened as if they now heard this great and glorious word for the first time.

CHAPTER XX.

THE Christian Indians closed their residence at Pilgerruh, on the 18th of April 1787, by offering up solemn prayer and praise in their chapel, which they had used but a short time, and then set out in two parties, one by land, led by Zeisberger, and the other by water with Edwards. The latter were obliged to cross over a considerable part of Lake Erie. But before they had left the Cayahaga creek a dreadful storm arose, the wind blowing from the lake. The travellers thanked God that they were yet in safety in the creek, and being in want of provisions, spent the time in fishing. One night they fished with torches, and pierced above 300 large fish of a good flavour, resembling pike, and weighing from three to four pounds each, part of which they roasted and ate, and dried the rest for provisions on the voyage. On the 24th the travellers by land, and the day following these who went by water, arrived at the place fixed upon for their future abode. It appeared like a fruitful orchard, several wild apple and plum trees growing here and there. They had never settled upon so good and fertile a spot of ground. The camp was formed about a league from the lake, which in these parts abounded with fish. Wild potatoes, an article of food much esteemed by the Indians, grew here plentifully. The Brethren rejoiced at the thoughts of establishing a regular settlement in so pleasant a country, especially as it was not frequented by any of those savages who had hitherto proved such troublesome neighbours.

But their joy was of short duration. On the 27th a Delaware Captain arrived in the camp, and informed them that they should not remain in this place, but live with them at Sandusky, adding, that they should consider it as a matter positively determined, and not first deliberate upon it. He added, as usual, the most solemn declarations of protection and safety. The Captain assured them likewise, that the place appointed for their habitation was not in the vicinity of any heathen towns, but ten miles distant from

the nearest. He then delivered a string of wampum. Disagreeable as this message was to the Indians, yet after many serious consultations, they and the missionaries could not but resolve to submit to the will of the Chiefs, lest they should bring new troubles and persecutions upon the congregation.

Nothing appeared in this affair so dreadful to the missionaries, as the prospect of being again subject to heathen rule and government. Yet they could not deny that it was more agreeable to their peculiar calling to live in the midst of those heathen, to whom they were to preach the Gospel, and therefore write, "We must be satisfied to live in the very nest of Satan, for it appears indeed, as if every savage Indian was possessed by a number of evil spirits, with whom we must be at war."

In the beginning of May, they with great joy welcomed two assistants in the work of the mission, sent by the congregation at Bethlehem, Michael Young and John Weygand, and soon after left this country with great regret, proceeding partly by water on Lake Erie, partly by land along its banks to Pettquotting, where they encamped about a mile from the lake. Here they found that the greatest part of the message brought by the Delaware Captain was fallacious; for the place fixed upon for their residence was not above two miles from the villages of the savages. The Indians therefore and the missionaries resolved not to go any farther for the present, lest they should be entangled in some snare, but to settle near Pettquotting. They then fixed upon an uninhabited place, situated on a river called also Huron, whither they went in canoes on the 14th of May, and before night a small village of bark-huts was erected. Hence they sent deputies to the Delaware Chiefs, to inform them of their resolution and their reasons for it, and obtained leave to stay at least one year in that place without molestation. They hoped also, that during that period, circumstances might alter in their favour, and that they might perhaps be permitted to continue there longer.

They therefore made plantations on the west bank of the river, and chose the east, which was high land, for their

dwellings. This place was called New-Salem. On the 6th of June, they finished and consecrated their new chapel, which was larger and better built than that at Pilgerruh. They indeed wanted more room, for a greater number of heathen Indians attended their public worship here, than at the Cayahaga, and hardly a day passed without visits from strangers. The whole congregation held a love-feast, on the 9th, when a letter to the believing Indians from Bishop Johannes von Watteville was read to them, and heard with much emotion. He had held a visitation in all the settlements of the Brethren in North America, but to his sorrow found it impossible to go to the Indian congregation, and was then on his return to Europe.

Among those savages, who about this time became concerned for the salvation of their souls, was a noted profligate, who in 1781 had formed a plan against the lives of the missionaries, and often lain in ambush to surprise them, but without success. He was travelling, and came without design to Pilgerruh, where he heard the gospel with great attention, and afterwards expressed his ardent desire to be delivered from the service of sin; nor would he leave the congregation, but giving up his intended journey, turned with his whole heart unto the Lord, and was baptized at New-Salem, some months after. A Huron Indian, who had been invited by his people to be their Chief, refused it, came to New-Salem, and declared that he had been these two years seeking in vain for something better than worldly honour. The Brethren gladly preached to him Jesus and his great love to poor sinners. This so powerfully impressed him that he abandoned his design of paying a farewell visit to his heathen relatives, and remained faithfully attached to the congregation, with whom his heart found that rest which he had so long sought for.

Many of the poor lost sheep were found in this period; and the above-mentioned unfaithful Luke was of their number. He had been the principal promoter of all the troubles occasioned to the Indians by the heathen Chiefs, and seemed resolved to force them to remove to Sandusky, where he had lived since his removal from the congregation.

When his wife once came to Pilgerruh on a visit, Zeisberger asked her, whether she and her husband lived happily and peacefully together? "No," said she, "we accuse each other as the cause that we are separated from the believers." "You see," replied the missionary, "that you are not in the right track; for otherwise you would enjoy rest and peace in your hearts." He then exhorted them to return, while it was yet time, and not to wait till all hopes of readmission were past. Luke himself came in spring to New-Salem, where the serious exhortations of Zeisberger, and the Indian assistants, had so good an effect, that the poor man was struck with remorse. He confessed his dreadful offence against God and his children, begged forgiveness and readmission, and obtained his request, to the great joy of the whole congregation.

It was pleasing to observe the increase of the Indian assistants in grace and knowledge of the truth. One day after a sermon preached upon the words of our Saviour (Mark xi. 17.), "*My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves,*" Samuel observed, that it was useful to apply these words to our own hearts: "Our body," added he, "is a temple of God. Our Saviour has washed us from sin in his own blood, and prepared our hearts for his dwelling. Now we ought not to defile the temple of God, and to suffer sin and its evil fruits, from which our Saviour has delivered us, to enter in, but always to remember, that we are not our own, but the Lord's, with soul and body, and therefore to preserve ourselves undefiled."

The missionaries rejoiced likewise at the prosperity of the young people, born and educated in the congregation, many of whom excelled the aged, in proving that they lived by faith in the Son of God, and walked in conformity to the precepts of the gospel.

During their residence at New-Salem, which lasted four years, the missionaries had more Indian visitors than in any of their former places of abode. These were always treated with the utmost hospitality, although at no small inconvenience and expense. Among others a large party came from

Sandusky, in April 1788, contrary to the orders of their Chiefs, which seemed only to make them the more eager. "If we ask, (write the missionaries) who brings these people to us? Men certainly do not, for they endeavour to hinder them. It is God, who by his Spirit, created a desire in the poor heathen to hear the Gospel, and to know that Saviour who gave his life and blood to redeem them." The good order and brotherly affection of the believers made a deep impression on many of them. "You are in truth a happy people, (said one of the Indians) you live cheerfully and peaceably together, and this is to be found no where but with you."

Among their visitors were some Mingo Indians, who had been baptized by Roman Catholic Priests. They told the Brethren that on a certain day in the year they must scourge themselves to make an atonement for their sins. To this the others replied, "Your belief in Christ must be very weak, that you torment yourselves so much, and yet cannot leave off sinning, nor purchase eternal salvation."

Several of the heathen embraced the Gospel, and received holy baptism. Among these was the old Chief Gelelemind or Killbuck, who narrowly escaped with his life when the American militia attacked the Indians settled near Pittsburg. Ever since that event his earnest desire had been to live with the Brethren, and that he might attain this object, he had even refused the offer of the Delawares to elect him Chief of the tribe.

In this year the Half-King of the Hurons died at Detroit, whither he had gone to attend the council. He acted a very prominent part in the removal of the Brethren from the Muskingum, and in the destruction of their settlements; but since their arrival at Pettquotting he had behaved very friendly, and endeavoured to prevent others from doing them any injury.

In September, the missionary John Shebosh departed to the Lord after a fortnight's illness, aged 68 years. He had accompanied the Indian Brethren in all their wanderings, and it was a pleasure to him to serve them. They loved him in return, and during his last illness waited on

him with the greatest assiduity. As his end approached being asked if he thought he would go to our Saviour, he answered, "Yes, I await that bliss with longing." His afflictions in this life were many and grievous; the most trying was the murder of his beloved son Joseph, on the Muskingum in the year 1781. But he bore his loss with patience and resignation.

The savages who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of Salem seldom attended the public services of the congregation; those who lived further off were more constant visitants. The former even attempted to erect "Satan's pulpit" near to the missionaries, and appointed feasts and dances, to the great annoyance and danger of the believers. But at the same time they were much encouraged by a visit from one of them, a Chippewa, who seemed earnest in his enquiries after the way of salvation. He had refused to dance with his comrades, though he was reproached, and called a "Sunday Indian." He told the missionaries that he could not forget what his father had said to him on his deathbed, namely, that the Indians had not found the right way to eternal life, and would meet with great trouble hereafter, having nothing good to hope for; but that there were people who knew better, who could tell how one might attain to everlasting life; and whoever believed their words would live for ever, though this body die. His father moreover added, that he should stay in this country; for a time would come when the believing Indians would move to Pettquotting; to those he should go, and hear from them how to obtain happiness in eternity, and that he should believe and accept of their words. He had thought much of this, when hunting in the woods alone, and more particularly as his father's prediction concerning the dwelling of the Brethren in this place was verified.

Besides those who forsook paganism, many of the baptized who had been dispersed among the heathen returned, and were united to the congregation. One of these was a little girl, only 11 years old, who, when she heard where the Brethren were settled, undertook a journey of above 300 miles by herself, and arrived in safety. Thus the settle-

ment was gradually increasing, and at the close of 1790, contained upwards of 200 inhabitants.

But dangers from without began again to menace the Indian congregation, and finally compelled them to abandon New-Salem. The Indian nations were generally dissatisfied with the government of the United States, which had deprived them of their land, and refused them the liberty of stating their grievances. After many negotiations, the western, and part of the northern Indians entered into a formal league to unite all their forces and compel the Americans to keep within certain bounds; expecting that the English would assist them. It was resolved that every able-bodied man ought and should turn out, and assist in repelling the enemy; and that the Christian Indians and their teachers should be removed from Pettquotting to Kegeyunk, on the river Miami, with a promise of being permitted to enjoy at that place all the privileges they could wish for: but having them once there, they would compel them to fight by their sides, and that death should be the punishment of all who refused; also, if their teachers in any wise threw obstacles in the way, by preventing the believing Indians from joining them, they should instantly be put to death.

Fortunately the Christian Indians had real friends in the council, who gave them private notice of their danger, and warned them to be on their gard when they should be summoned to remove to Kegeyunk. The missionaries seeing the danger of the congregation, sent Br. Edwards to Detroit, requesting from the commandant an asylum while the war should last; which being readily agreed to, a vessel was engaged to carry the missionaries and the heavy baggage of the Indians across the lake.

At this juncture Br. Senseman arrived. He had come from Bethlehem to resume his services in the mission, and ran a great risk of falling into the enemy's hands, although at the time it was not known to him.

Under these trying circumstances the Indians were very cheerful, nor was the least lamentation heard amongst them, but they were perfectly satisfied, willingly to forsake their

houses and plantations, to seek for peace, and a free exercise of their religion, remote from war and bloodshed. They prepared 30 canoes to carry them across the lake; and had scarcely got ready for their voyage, when the savages appeared with the message for their removal. But the vessel which had been engaged for the baggage unexpectedly arrived in the river, and they were enabled to proceed. On the lake they were in frequent danger from the Chippewa warriors who were going in large parties to the place of rendezvous. At last, on the 4th of May, 1791, they were all safely landed above the mouth of the Detroit river, where cleared lands were allotted them to plant corn on for the season.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE residence of the congregation near the Detroit river proved very unhealthy. The missionaries were attacked with various disorders, and several of the Indians died. Among these was William, who, when a young man, acted as interpreter to Sir William Johnson, and thereby got much honour among the Indians. In 1770, he renounced the world, and joined the congregation at Friedenshutten. He proved remarkably useful in translating portions of the Scriptures, &c. and was appointed assistant preacher, for which office he was peculiarly gifted. He was beloved and respected by all his countrymen, and his brethren valued him as a most exemplary follower of the Lord Jesus. Soon afterwards the venerable Br. Abraham died. He was an old and faithful assistant in the congregation. In his younger days he had been the greatest drinker and fighter in the country, so that the change wrought in him was truly astonishing. He accompanied Zeisberger and Senseman to the Ohio, in 1768; and there, amidst opposition and persecution, boldly and freely preached Christ, as the only Saviour of sinners. Having been appointed warden of the congregation, he exerted himself successfully for the preservation of good order by day and night. "We mourn

over his loss (write the missionaries) but thank the Lord, who graciously granted us such a faithful and useful assistant in our labour."

Besides the unhealthiness of the place, the Brethren suffered much from the enmity of the white people in their neighbourhood, and from the Chippewas, who wantonly destroyed their cattle and plantations. They were also continually alarmed by messages from the heathen Indians, still urging them to take up the hatchet against the Americans; until at last the Indian assistants resolved to have no more intercourse with the Chiefs and their councils, but to leave all those affairs to God, and to trust alone in him. They afterwards ascertained that the principal object of the Chiefs was to destroy the work of God among the Indians, and to re-establish heathenism. In this determination they were opposed by Captain Pipe, who said that he had already sinned too much against the believing Indians, and would not add to his crimes by voting with them.

In August the missionaries went to Detroit, and laid the circumstances of their case before the Governor. He received them very kindly, and readily assented to their desire of removing with their Indian converts to a greater distance from the white settlements, and where they would also be less exposed to the enmity of those Indians who seemed bent upon their destruction. A tract of land on the River Retrench (since called the Thames), which falls into the east side of lake St. Clair, about 70 miles north-east of Detroit, was afterwards assigned to them; and they then determined to leave their temporary abode on Lake Erie, immediately after Easter.

Though their stay in this place had been so short, and the outward affairs of the congregation very unsatisfactory —yet, internally, joy and peace abounded; the meetings for daily worship were undisturbed, and were attended by Indians, Negroes, and Europeans, on several of whom the word of the cross proved its divine power in subduing and changing the heart.

A few days before their departure, a sick Wiondat sent a message to the Brethren, requesting a visit. Upon this,

Samuel and some others crossed the bay, and spent the night in declaring to him the great love of our Saviour to sinners. The poor Wiondat was much comforted by the cheering message of salvation; and earnestly expressed his desire to be conveyed to the settlement, that he might die among the believers. He was afterwards visited by the Romish priests, who questioned him, why he would forsake them, and join another religion: he answered, That though he was baptized by them, and had heard them preach, yet their words appeared to him like empty straw, and he had found nothing with them to afford that ease for which his burdened heart was seeking. But having met with the true way among the believing Indians, who moved from one place to another, being a persecuted people, he would, on that account, go and dwell with them.

On the 12th of April, the congregation left their residence on Lake Erie, part proceeding by land and part by water. The latter encountered a violent storm, and with great difficulty reached the settlement. On the 2nd of May they all united in songs of praise to the Lord, who had brought them in safety to a place where they hoped at last to find rest and peace. They immediately began to lay out the town, which they called *Fairfield*. The district allotted to them consisted of three large dales; the high lands being sandy, but the valleys fertile and well watered. Their chief inconvenience was, that all stones wanted for building they were obliged to procure from the bed of the river.

The Brethren had been here but a few days, when they were called upon to mourn the loss of the valuable assistant Thomas. He was grandson of the Delaware Chief Netawatwees, who turned him out of doors on account of his wicked life. He came to Shonbrun in 1774, where the preaching of the Gospel became to him the power of God unto salvation. With true contrition of heart he confessed to the missionaries the evil of his ways; and added, "that he had even had familiar intercourse with the devil." After his baptism he was of great service to the Brethren in sending messages to the Indian Chiefs, being intrepid and ju-

dicious, and not ashamed to speak to them of the only way by which they might be saved. When he was appointed an assistant, he observed:—"I am a servant in the chapel, and now also called to be an assistant; but it is not this degree of usefulness which makes me happy. I find I must have the Saviour and cleave unto him, for only in converse with him I can be happy and cheerful." He fell sick while journeying from Lake Erie, and arrived at the new settlement very weak. He had been desirous of seeing it before he died, though no one expected his end to be so near.

The congregation at Fairfield was soon visited by various parties of Indians, who viewed the town and improvements with evident marks of surprise. Some of them caused much disturbance by their war dances; and a troop of Monsys induced ten of the young people to accompany them on a hunting excursion, which greatly grieved the missionaries. One of the warriors boasting of his heroic deeds, the Indian brother Boas answered,—"None is great and mighty but God, who is over us all. He has created every thing; and we are altogether before him like the meanest worm, or one single musquito, which is killed in an instant with the tip of the finger." To this the warrior could make no reply. The captain of these Monsys returned shortly afterwards in a dying condition. When taken ill, he had requested his people to hasten with him to the settlement, and had refused the assistance of Indian physicians. His earnest desire was to be baptized. This was granted after mature deliberation, and with a particular feeling of the Divine presence during the solemn transaction. He died the same evening; but the Brethren rejoiced that thus another brand was plucked out of the fire. Another Monsy Chief being indisposed, wished to believe and to be converted; but he was afraid of the reproach attending it, loving the honour of men.

In general the wild Indians who surrounded them, seemed to be indifferent about their salvation, and had little hunger for the word of God. But the labour of the missionaries was not altogether in vain; some fruit began to appear

among the Monsys, and in 1793, three families of that nation moved to the settlement.

The congregation about this time had also the pleasure of welcoming several of the baptized, who returned from the wilderness. One of them, called David, was upwards of 80 years old. Ever since the missionaries were taken captive on the Muskingum, he had lived in the woods, chiefly alone. He rejoiced like a child, that, in his hoary age, the Great Shepherd had brought him back to the flock.

In the same year the Governor of Detroit honoured them with two visits. He attended the daily worship, and was greatly edified in seeing the Indians worship God so devoutly. Perceiving that they were in want of corn, he generously ordered that they should receive 200 bushels from the stores in advance, and gave them as much land on both sides the river as was necessary for a regular township.

In a short time Fairfield became a very flourishing settlement; and the whole country was benefited by the industry of its inhabitants in agriculture, and by their skill in various manufactures. This establishment was of public utility in another point of view; when the Brethren arrived here, the nearest settlers resided at a distance of 30 leagues; but no sooner was it known that the Christian Indians had settled on the river, than the adjacent lands were taken by white people; and in a few years about 100 families were located in their neighbourhood. Having themselves opened roads in various directions through the country, travellers were continually passing to and fro, both by land and water, and hence Fairfield might be considered as lying on the great road to Niagara. Thus this settlement appeared to be admirably suited for a missionary station, from whence the Gospel might be proclaimed to the different and numerous tribes of the Chippewas. But those advantages seem to have had little or no influence in promoting the chief object of the missionaries, that of turning the heathen from the power of Satan unto the living God: for in 1796 they write; "As to the heathen, we seem here to be

surrounded with barren ground, and not to have any prospect of reaping for our Saviour. Our connexion with the Delaware nation is cut off, and the Chippewas have no ears to hear the Gospel. But (they add) this we can say, that amidst all imperfections of our Indian congregation, our Saviour's love, faithfulness and grace are most blessedly made manifest among them."

In 1797, the Brethren, having obtained formal possession of the land on the Muskingum, where the settlements Gnadenhutten, Shonbrun, and Salem formerly stood, sent the missionary Heckewelder and the Indian William Henry (Killbuck) to take a survey of it. They found the whole district covered with deep dry grass, the abode of numerous serpents. The site of Gnadenhutten was overgrown with briars and bushes of various kinds, forming an impenetrable thicket, excepting where the paths of bears, deer, turkies, and other wild animals, afforded admittance. Some ruins of the houses were still standing, and the place where the Indians were massacred was strongly marked, many of their bones appearing among the ashes.

In the following year, Heckewelder went to Fairfield accompanied by Benjamin Mortimer, who was appointed to the service of the mission. It was then determined to commence a new settlement on the Muskingum, and for this purpose Br. Edwards,* with Heckewelder and some Indians, returned to prepare for the reception of that portion of the congregation which intended to emigrate from Fairfield.

Zeisberger was now 77 years of age. He had suffered great hardships; but his love for the Indians, and his zeal for the cause to which he had devoted his life were unabated. When the question was put, "Who will go with the Indian families across the lake;" he immediately answered, "I will go with them." Indeed the prospect of renewing the mission in the United States gave him great joy: "for there," he said, "they had left their work."

After taking an affectionate leave of the congregation at Fairfield, he set out on the 15th of August, accompanied by his wife and Br. Mortimer, with 33 Indian Brethren

* He died at Goshen in 1801, aged about seventy.

and Sisters. They reached Detroit on the 19th, where a deputation of Indians was introduced to the Governor, who kindly presented them with 400 weight of flour. The principal gentlemen of the fort also visited them in their camp, and were much pleased with the appearance, order, and conversation of the Indians. It was remarked by some that they seemed as much attached to the missionaries and to each other as if they belonged to one family: thus illustrating the words of our Saviour—"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another."

On the 22nd they proceeded, and after crossing the lake, entered on the most difficult part of their journey. In ascending the Cayahaga river they met with many rapids and cataracts,* and in one place the loaded canoes were dragged over solid rocks for about seven miles. But the Indians endured every hardship with great cheerfulness and perseverance, though suffering much occasionally from a scarcity of provisions. They reached Shonbrun on the 4th of Oct.: and united in praising the Lord who had brought them safely to the place of their destination.

The Brethren immediately began to lay out a new town on the Shonbrun tract of land, about eight miles from Gnadenhutten, which they called *Goshen*. This was the thirteenth settlement formed by Zeisberger in the Indian country. He felt himself anew strengthened and encouraged for his labours in the vineyard of the Lord, and was faithfully and zealously assisted by Br. Mortimer. They were visited by many heathen Indians, who diligently attended the public preaching of the Gospel: several of them obtained permission to live at Goshen, and were afterwards united to the congregation by baptism. Thus, after a lapse

* In ascending this river, the travellers saw a vast number of rattlesnakes; one they killed in the water, and drew thirteen rattles off his tail. It may here be observed, that though Zeisberger, during his numerous journeys in the course of more than 50 years, had seen and passed over hundreds of these reptiles, and once accidentally trod upon one, yet he never received the slightest injury from them. The same may be said, we believe, of all the other Moravian missionaries employed in the Indian country.

of 17 years, since the expulsion of the Christian Indians from this part of the country, they again erected the standard of the cross, and entertained a cheering hope that many heathen tribes would flow unto it. In the beginning of 1801 the number of inhabitants amounted to 71 persons. The love and Christian simplicity prevailing among them were noticed by all visitors with pleasure and edification.

But their number was soon diminished by the formation of a new settlement; for in the preceding autumn the Chiefs and great Council of the Delawares at Woapikamikunk (*the place of Chesnut-trees*), on the river Wabash, had sent a formal message to Goshen, expressive of a desire to have the Gospel preached among them. In consequence of this, the Indians, Charles Henry and Jacob Pemaholend, travelled to the Wabash, where they were cordially received by the Chiefs, who, on the 30th of January, 1801, by a public document, again declared their intention to receive the Gospel. The scripture text appointed for that day was remarkable,—"Joshua said unto the people: Ye are witnesses against yourselves, that ye have chosen you the Lord, to serve Him. And they said, We are witnesses."

The Brethren found here many Indians who were formerly baptized on the Muskingum, but in the time of the great dispersion had fled to the Wabash. One of them, called Old Isaac, used for many years to sing verses with the Indians, and preach to them every Sunday. They now rejoiced in the prospect of teachers again visiting them.

In February, the missionaries Kluge and Luckenbach, who had been appointed to the service of the new station, left Goshen, with twelve Christian Indians, including three children, and in a few weeks arrived in safety at Woapikamikunk. The Chiefs received them with respect; and an elevated spot surrounded by nine populous Indian towns, was assigned for their dwelling. The preaching of the Gospel was frequently attended by a considerable number of serious hearers; and a few heathen came to reside with them, and were baptized. Several of those also who had formerly been baptized moved to their settlement. At the close of 1802, this small congregation consisted of 23 per-

sons. But this quiet and comparative prosperity were soon interrupted. One of the Chiefs, who protected them, died in the autumn of 1805; and another was deposed. The Indians then became ungovernable, threatened to murder the missionaries, and killed their cattle before their eyes. This was the effect of drunkenness, which is promoted by the rum-traders throughout the whole Indian territory, and opposes an almost insuperable bar to the spread of the Gospel.

The situation of the missionaries was now very alarming, but greater distress awaited them: in the spring of the following year they were overwhelmed with grief and terror, by a transaction of the most diabolical nature, as will appear by the following extract from Br. Kluge's letter to the Brethren at Goshen.

"In February, 1806, all the Indians in this district were summoned by their teachers, or lying prophets, to assemble on the Woapikamikunk, to hear the foolish stories, fabricated by the emissaries of Satan, of pretended visions and revelations received from God; and to be instructed how to act in conformity to them. Among these teachers was a Shawanose, an arch impostor.* Pretending that he was able to know and discover hidden mysteries, his deluded countrymen submitted to him with profound respect. The Delaware tribe received him with great cordiality, and resolved to hold a grand council, in order to root out all witchcraft and poison-mixing (which, according to their superstitious notions, existed amongst them,) and by fire to extort confession from all such as this impostor should accuse; and whoever would not confess, should be hewn in pieces with their war-hatchets, and burned. With a view to execute their horrid purpose the young Indians got together, chose the most ferocious to be their leaders, de-

* This was the celebrated Tecumseh; a man of extraordinary eloquence, whose great object at this time was the union of all the Indian tribes in a league against the Americans. Hence he accused all those of witchcraft who were likely to thwart his design; and advised the Indians "entirely to withdraw their affection from the strangers, return to their ancient ways and customs, and worship the Great Spirit in the manner their forefathers had done."

posed all the old Chiefs, and guarded the whole Indian assembly, especially the aged of both sexes, as if they were prisoners of war. Tbe venerable old Chief Tettepachsit, was the first whom they accused of possessing poison, and of having destroyed many Indians by his art. When the poor old man would not confess, they fastened him with cords to two posts, and began to roast him at a slow fire. During the torture he said, that he kept poison in the house of our Indian brother Joshua. Nothing was more welcome to the savages than this accusation, for they wished to deprive us of the assistance of this man, who was the only Christian Indian residing with us at the time. They had frequently sent him invitations to attend their heathenish festivities, but he would never accept them. His answer was—'You know that I am a believer in the true God, whose word we make known to you: I, therefore, can have no fellowship with you in your wicked works. Do as you please, but leave me to serve the living God.' This answer displeased them much, and on March 13th, they sent seven wild Indians, with painted faces, to our settlement, and took him away by main force. They pretended that he only need tell Tettepachsit to his face, that he had no poison in his house, and he might then return home. All excuses were vain, and Joshua was compelled to accompany them to the assembly at Woapikamikunk.

"When he was presented to Tettepachsit he frankly confessed, that he had accused him merely to pacify the enraged multitude, and escape from the torture. Joshua was now pronounced not guilty, yet they would not permit him to return, but insisted on his remaining with them till the Shawanose impostor shonld arrive. This son of Belial arriving the same day, all the Indians of both sexes were ordered by him to sit down in a large circle, when he would declare who had poison in his possession. The two old Chiefs, Tettepachsit and Hackinpomska, were both accused of poison-mixing, and the former was more particularly charged with the untimely death of many Indians. When the Shawanose was asked about Joshua, he indeed declared, that he had no poison, but that he was possessed

of an evil spirit, by which he was able to destroy other Indians. Pleased with this verdict, they seized these three innocent men, and strictly watched them as condemned criminals. We knew nothing of these horrible events, until the evening of the 16th, when a message was brought, that the savages had burned an old woman, who, at a former period, had been baptized by the Brethren, and also that our poor Joshua was kept close prisoner.

"On the 17th our distress and fear concerning the fate of Joshua rose still higher. We were stunned with horror on seeing ten of the most savage Indians, with blackened faces, conducting Tettepachsit, arrive in our settlement. Soon after, these murderous wretches kindled a large fire close to our place, and, having given the aged Chief a blow on the head with a war-hatchet, threw him alive into the flames, diverting themselves with the miserable cries and convulsions of the poor dying man. The flames communicated to the grass and wood near the settlement, by which all our dwellings were filled with smoke.

"After committing this horrid murder, the savages came boldly into our house, boasting of their atrocious deed, and, assuming a hypocritical mien, demanded bread and tobacco, which we were obliged to give them. We took courage to ask them, what would be the fate of Joshua. They immediately began to accuse him, saying, there was good reason for detaining him a prisoner, for they well knew that he understood the black art, and could destroy the Indians, his faith in our doctrines being a mere pretence. In vain we endeavoured to convince them of the untruth of these assertions. They pretended to set our minds at ease, by saying, that they would not kill him. We charged them to tell their Captains, that they ought well to consider what they were doing; that Joshua had been a believer, and had never had any concern with the things of which they accused him, for he was a servant of God, and had renounced the Devil and all his works; and that he was of the Mahikan tribe, and not a Delaware, and had accompanied us as interpreter. We therefore requested, that they would immediately release him, for we should consider all they did unto

him, as done unto ourselves, &c. But they manifested the most diabolical hypocrisy; for, though they knew that Joshua was to be murdered that very day, they promised to deliver our words to the Captains. We easily perceived that our defence of Joshua had displeased them; and they left our place in a riotous manner.

"Though we had been informed, that the savages suspected us of keeping poison, for the purpose of making those Indians sick who would not do as we directed them; and though we did not know to what length the devil might instigate them to carry their fury, nor what our fate might be; yet we felt ourselves constrained to go to their assembly, and try what we could do for the preservation of Joshua, or at least to give him comfort and advice, should we even suffer for it. But as my wife and children (writes brother Kluge) could not be left alone in so dreadful a situation, brother Luckenbach took courage to go alone.

"He had hardly proceeded half way before he met an Indian, who informed him that Joshua had become a victim to their cruelty on the foregoing day. They had given him two cuts in the head with a hatchet, and then thrown him into the fire. With these dreadful tidings brother Luckenbach returned to us in the afternoon. This was the heaviest stroke we had yet met with. Dread and terror took from us all power of speech and reflection, and we could do nothing but utter cries of lamentation and woe.

"Having, in some degree, recovered ourselves, our first thought was to sell all our goods, and fly as expeditiously as possible towards Goshen. During our preparations for the journey, a sudden change of the weather to severe cold prevented us from departing so soon as we intended.

"Some days after we were informed, that Joshua had spoken a great deal, at the place where he was murdered, in a language not understood by the Indians; which led us to suppose, that he had directed his prayers to the Lord in German, which he spoke well. When the savages forced him from us, he was in a very comfortable state of mind, and seemed well prepared to leave the world, and as a reconciled sinner to meet his Saviour. In the following

days more Indians were accused,* and shared the same fate."†

The lives of the missionaries being now in the most imminent danger, and their doctrine publicly ridiculed and despised, they were forced in a short time altogether to relinquish the mission on the Wabash.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE congregation in Fairfield continued in a very pleasing course after the departure of the emigrant Indians to the Muskingum. The missionaries were strengthened by the arrival of Br. Denke (in 1800‡), who had spent several months with the venerable Zeisberger at Goshen, and was already well versed in the Delaware tongue to which the Chippewa is nearly allied. Soon afterwards they were farther assisted by the brethren Schnall and Oppelt. But though they were now resting in prosperous security under the protecting wing of British government, safe from the hostile incursions of ferocious savages and the vindictive barbarity of civilized fanatics, the Brethren forgot not their high and heavenly vocation; they remembered that they were called to carry the light of the Gospel into the midst of heathen darkness, as well as to exhibit the power of godliness among those who, though they had a name to live, yet seemed dead in trespasses and sins.

The native assistants zealously embraced every opportunity of proclaiming salvation through a crucified Redeemer to the various Indians who visited Fairfield, but hitherto

* The father of Joshua (who bore the same name) was one of the two first Indians who were baptized at Bethlehem, in 1742. The son was born in 1741, and brought up in the congregation from his childhood. He had a genius for learning both languages and the mechanical arts; and, with a little assistance, he made a spinnet, on which he learned to play. His two only daughters were murdered at Gnadenhutten in 1782. † Per. Acc. Vol. iv. 1—7.

‡ The aged missionary Gottlob Senseman died this year. He was greatly beloved by the Indians and his fellow labourers, for the faithfulness, patience, and diligence which he displayed among them. So highly also was he respected by the white settlers, that they were desirous of electing him their representative in the assembly of the state; an honour which he declined, as being incompatible with his missionary calling.

without any apparent success. It was, therefore, with much joy, that in 1801, the congregation received a deputation from their neighbours, the Chippewas, inviting a teacher to settle among them. The establishment of a mission among these Indians had been the particular desire of Br. Denke, and for which the great Head of the Church had fitted him with peculiar gifts. He immediately prepared to go, nothing terrified by the probable hardships he would have to endure, thinking that the Lord would open a door for the free course of his word in that country. The Indian Boas who could speak the Chippewa language well, accompanied him, for a short time, as interpreter. With much labour Denke erected a small hut in the wilderness, and solemnly dedicated it to the service of God; he then applied himself diligently to the study of the language, and in a few months was able to translate various portions of Scripture. He preached the Gospel to every Indian who entered his hut, without respect of persons; and in several instances it appeared that his words were not in vain. One Indian declared, "that he had been with the teacher, who had told him great and good words, which had made him sick to the very heart." Another returned to the missionary to hear more; saying, "When I was in company with other Indians, I attended not to their stories, but hung down my head, and thought only on what you had told me of the Saviour of man, and his sufferings."

In his solitary and laborious life, the missionary endured much privation, and submitted to many of the Indian habits, believing it incumbent upon him in order to gain the confidence of the savages; thus, if he visited them when they happened to be eating (which they do the whole day when they have plenty), he never declined their invitation to partake, lest they might conclude that he despised them, though their food occasionally consisted of musk-rats, dogs, hawks, owls, &c. He was also frequently in danger while travelling alone in the woods. One day when approaching a village, an Indian who was following him, gave a sudden shriek, on the missionary looking back, he exclaimed, "Stand still, or run forwards! there lies a rattlesnake, a great evil spirit." The creature was lying close

by the path which he had passed. Having killed it, the Indian said; "Father, it is in vain, for after sunset it will revive again, and pursue you every where!"*

But in the midst of danger and suffering he enjoyed the presence of his unseen Friend: and his most fervent wish was that he might be enabled to preach the precious word of God, though in poverty and with a stammering tongue, yet with true fervour of soul, to the poor Chippewas, and that it might be attended with the demonstration of the Spirit and with power from on high. While thus labouring in his Master's cause, the enemy was not idle. During a sickness that prevailed among the Chippewas, some white people persuaded them that it was produced by the missionary. The accusation might have proved fatal. But the Chief who had formally invited Br. Denke to their country, by his firmness and sagacity averted the danger. This Chief had also excited the indignation of his tribe, by his opposition to the sale of spirituous liquors among them. He was one who listened with attention to the missionary, and seemed impressed with what he heard of the love of God to sinners. But soon after this the opposition to Br. Denke increased: and the Chippewas began to suspect him of a desire to possess himself of their country: some, at length, even threatened his life, and it appeared unsafe to remain longer among them. However, he remained tranquil at his post until the end of 1806, when the jealous enmity of these Indians showed they had no disposition to receive the Gospel, and the mission was abandoned.

The faith and patience of the Brethren were further tried at this time by the unpromising aspect of the settlement which had been formed at *Pettquotting*, on the river Huron. This was begun in the year 1804, in consequence of a visitation held at Goshen by Bishop

* In 1802, Denke had a very narrow escape, while sitting in the house of a white settler with the missionary Schnall, who had arrived from Fairfield on a visit. A barrel of gunpowder suddenly exploded, and all in the room were more or less hurt. Two died next day; four others (including Schnall) were dreadfully mangled; but Denke only received a slight wound in his head.

Loskiel,* when it was resolved, that a part of the Fairfield congregation should proceed to the south side of Lake Erie, accompanied by the missionaries Haven and Oppelt. This colony consisted at the end of that year of 67 persons. Though they had to struggle with many difficulties, yet the missionaries were frequently cheered by the attendance of heathen Indians on the preaching of the Gospel, and by the proofs of its divine power in the hearts of the congregation. But they soon discovered that it would be necessary to leave this place, for the Government had sold the land to some white settlers, and they were liable to instant expulsion. Besides this, the proximity of the Monsy towns, and the introduction of the rum-trade, were circumstances very pernicious to the morals of their young people. It was accordingly determined in the autumn of 1807, during the visitation of two directors of the Missions, (the brethren Forestier and Cunow) to emigrate from Pettquotting to *Sandusky Creek*.† On its western bank they erected a temporary building, on a piece of ground which had been allotted to them by the Monsy tribe. Here they were joined by the missionaries Luckenbach and Hagen, whose chief object was the spread of the Gospel among the surrounding heathen, by visiting and conversing with them in their dwellings. From Sandusky they went twice a week to two towns of the Monsy Indians, and preached to the inhabitants as circumstances permitted: the head chief of the Wyondats also declared his approbation of their design, and invited them to Upper Sandusky.

The missionaries suffered much from illness at this place; but they acknowledge with lively gratitude the supporting hand of God in the midst of their heavy trials,

* Author of the "History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America." He took with him to Goshen the Indian hymn book, which had been compiled by the venerable Zeisberger, and printed at Philadelphia. Its distribution among the Christian Indians created the most lively sensations of joy. They sung hymns frequently till midnight in their houses.

† Many, however, remained at Pettquotting, and others removed to Goshen.

and the constant supply of all their outward wants. On the recovery of Br. Hagen, he began to keep school with ten Indian children residing in the neighbourhood, some of them baptized. Indeed, most of the Indians who had been formerly baptized by the Brethren, and were dispersed throughout this country when the missionaries were carried to Detroit, regularly attended divine worship with their children on Sundays, and on some the word of the cross seemed to make a deep impression; but the attendance of the majority at the idolatrous festivities of their heathen neighbours, proved that no material change had been effected in their hearts.

In 1812 the Monsy Indians, among whom the missionaries were labouring, suddenly resolved to quit the Sandusky, in consequence of the establishment of a military post about three miles from their town. Forty families emigrated accordingly; among them were all those who had been formerly baptized. The latter intended to go to Fairfield, provided they could obtain permission to enter the English territory. After the departure of the Indians the missionaries deemed it prudent to leave their present residence, though they had put their dwellings and garden into very good order. They retired to an unoccupied house which had been formerly built by a Presbyterian Minister for an Indian school, hoping here to have an opportunity of preaching the Gospel to the Wyandots and Mingoes living at Upper Sandusky; but the circumstances of the war which had broken out between England and the United States compelled them to abandon this station, and soon afterwards all the buildings at Sandusky Creek were destroyed by fire.

The small congregation of Indians at *Goshen* was gradually surrounded by settlements of white people, so that few of the heathen remained in that neighbourhood, and the work of God seemed to make but slow progress among them. The missionaries also had much reason to complain of the conduct of the traders, who delighted in tempting the Indians to drink. In the year 1805, Zeisberger writes: "I think continually about the present

state of the mission, and pray God to help us. In former times, we lived with our Indians alone, having no connexion with the white people, and the Lord blessed us. No danger then existed of our youth being seduced to drunkenness and other excesses. If traders came, we took charge of their liquor till they departed, for we were upon our own land. But here we cannot do it."

This deplorable evil rather increased than diminished; and the young members of the Indian congregation were exposed to great temptation from the immediate vicinity of a town, described by the missionaries as a very Sodom in wickedness. Hitherto, however, the believers walked consistently with their Christian profession; but the ungodly lives of the white settlers had an injurious tendency in preventing the savages from attending the ministration of the Gospel; the latter were even incited against the missionaries, and on one occasion Mortimer and Denke narrowly escaped from their drunken fury.

It was now the earnest wish of Zeisberger again to remove with this congregation into the wilderness, where they would be less exposed to the pernicious influence of the whites, and have freer access to the hearts of the surrounding heathen. But though the zeal of the missionary for the spread of the Gospel was still so fervent, the infirmities of his very advanced age, combined with other causes, detained the congregation at Goshen. Here, therefore, Zeisberger spent the remainder of his life, revising and correcting his Delaware translations and vocabularies, until he was disabled by the partial loss of sight, and instructing and counselling the younger missionaries, who revered him as a father.

On the 17th of November 1808, he finished his earthly pilgrimage, in the 88th year of his age, sixty-two of which he had spent as a missionary among the Indians.*

* The following imperfect sketch of his life and character is extracted from Heckewelder's *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians.*

"David Zeisberger was the son of one of those Moravian emigrants, who laid the foundation of the renewed Brethren's Church. He came

"As a shock of corn cometh in its season, so he came to the grave in a full age, and entered into the joy of his Lord."

In the same year died two other venerable missionaries, who, like Zeisberger, had entered into that service at an

to America when still a youth, and resided for some time in Georgia, and afterwards at Bethlehem. In the year 1746 he engaged in the Mission among the North American Indians.

Having once devoted himself to this service, from the most voluntary choice and the purest motives, he steadily pursued his object, to wit, the glory of God in the salvation of his fellow-men. Never was he so happy as when he had ground for believing, that his endeavours had been the means of converting one sinner from the error of his ways, and leading him to the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord. This, in his estimation, was of far higher value, than if he had acquired possession of the whole world. It may be said with truth, that he watched over his Indian flock with the solicitude of a parent, and cherished them as a nurse doth her children. He followed them in all their wanderings, cheerfully bearing with them the heat and burden of the day, and during the last forty years of his life he was never, at any one time, six months absent from his charge.

He was blessed with a cool, active, and intrepid spirit, unappalled by danger, and with a sound judgment, and clear discernment. He was, therefore, seldom taken by surprise, and was generally prepared to meet and overcome difficulties. If once convinced, that he was in the path of duty, he patiently submitted to every hardship, and, with firm fortitude, endured the severest sufferings. In the course of a long life spent among savages he was exposed to many privations, and at times suffered persecution from the enemies of divine truth, who more than once sought his life. But none of these things dismayed him; they rather increased his zeal in the Lord's cause, and in more instances than one has he had the pleasure of baptizing Indians, who not long before had lifted up the hatchet to murder him. At the same time he was of an humble and meek spirit, and always thought lowly of himself. He was a most affectionate husband; a faithful and never-failing friend; and every lineament of his character shewed a sincere, upright, benevolent, and generous soul, with perhaps as few blemishes as can be expected in the best of men on this side the grave.

In the evening of his days, when his faculties began to fail him, his desire to depart and be with Christ increased. At the same time he awaited his dissolution with uniform, calm, and dignified resignation to the will of his Maker, and in the sure and certain hope of exchanging this world for a better. His last words were, "Lord Jesus, I pray thee, come and take my spirit to thyself." And again, "Thou hast never yet forsaken me in any trial, thou wilt not forsake me now."—A very respectable company attended his funeral. The solemn service

early period of their lives, with a determination to endure for Christ's sake, all privations, persecutions, and dangers which might befal them. These were Bernhard Adam Grube, the first missionary to the Delawares; he died at Bethlehem on the 20th of March, aged 93 years:—and John George Youngman, one of Zeisberger's faithful fellow-labourers, who, in July, died also at Bethlehem, in the 89th year of his age. It is remarkable that these three servants of God, notwithstanding the numerous hardships and trials they endured, should live to such advanced ages, enjoying, also, as they generally did, good health to the last.

was performed in the English, the Delaware, and German languages, to suit the different auditors. Two sermons were preached from Rev. xii. 11. and Prov. x. 7.

Zeisberger was a man of low stature, yet well proportioned, of a cheerful countenance, and endowed with a good understanding. He was a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, and who could appreciate genuine worth. His words were few, and never known to be wasted at random, or in an unprofitable manner. Plain in his habits, temperate in all things, and blessed with a sound constitution, he generally enjoyed good health, and lived to a far advanced age.

He made himself complete master of two of the Indian languages, the Onondago and the Delaware, and acquired some knowledge of several others. Of the Onondago he composed two grammars, one written in English, and the other in German. He likewise compiled a Dictionary of the Delaware language, which in the manuscript contained seventeen hundred pages. Nearly the whole of the manuscript was lost at the burning of the settlements on the Muskingum. A Spelling-book in the same language has passed through two editions. A volume of Sermons to Children, and a Hymn-book containing upwards of five hundred hymns, chiefly translations from the English and German Hymn-books in use in the Brethren's Church, have also been published in the Delaware (or Lenape) language. He left behind him, in manuscript, a Grammar of the Delaware, written in German, and a translation into the same language of Lieberkuehn's Harmony of the Four Gospels. The former of these works has since been translated into English, for the American Philosophical Society, by P. S. Du Ponceau, of Philadelphia; and the Female Auxiliary Missionary Society of Bethlehem, has undertaken the publication of the Harmony.

CHAPTER XXIII.

In the year 1801 a mission was commenced among the Cherokees, who had previously requested that teachers might be sent amongst them. They were visited by the Brethren Steiner and Von Schweinitz, who conversed with the Chiefs on the subject, and received from them assurances of friendship and protection. The Brethren expressed great joy on the occasion; hoping that now the Lord's time was come, when the glorious light of the Gospel should shine upon this nation, to whose service, above 60 years before, John Hagen in Georgia, resolved to devote himself. On the 12th of April, the Brethren Steiner and Byham were solemnly set apart for the missionary work among the Cherokees. They were much encouraged by the officers of the Government residing in that district. One object of the missionaries, and the earnest desire of the chiefs, was the instruction of their children. The settlement (called *Spring Place*) was fixed near the habitation of Mr. Vann, who treated the missionaries with the greatest hospitality, and sent his negroes to assist them in building a cottage. Here they began boldly to proclaim the word of the cross, to whites, negroes, and Indians; confessing themselves as weak and helpless as children, being truly in the situation of those, who, without seeing, trust and believe that with God all things are possible.

The missionaries, being unable to commence a school for the Cherokee children so soon as the Chiefs anticipated, were unexpectedly surprised by a message from the Council, informing them that they must quit their present abode. But by the intervention of Colonel Meigs, agent of the United States for the Cherokees, and the consequent resolution of another Council, they were allowed to remain; and soon after, having finished the necessary buildings, they commenced school with four Indian boys, whom they lodged, boarded, and instructed. The number of their scholars gradually increased: and Mr. Vann kindly un-

dertook the charge of those for whom the missionaries were unable to provide.

The difficulties in learning the Cherokee language were almost insurmountable, though the Brethren were assisted occasionally by the Chiefs, several of whom understood English. But while struggling to extend the sphere of their usefulness among the adults, they endeavoured to sow the precious seed of the word of God in the hearts of the children, who committed to memory many hymns and texts of Scripture with great pleasure. Of these boys, the missionary Gambold writes in 1806, "We already discover some sprouts which may grow up into trees of the Lord's own planting." Nor was this a vain hope. Several of these scholars became truly concerned for their salvation; and after leaving school, frequently adverted (in letters to their former teachers) to the instructions they had received at Spring Place, and expressed an earnest desire to become better acquainted with the saving truths of the Gospel. One of them, named Dazizi, settled in their immediate neighbourhood, and was very useful as an interpreter.

Some years afterwards, five of Br. Gambold's pupils were placed in an institution for Indians, established at Cornwall in Connecticut. In reference to this event, he thus expresses himself:—"Thirteen years have we laboured, prayed, and wept, having no other prospect before us, than that our scholars would relapse into heathenism; but now there are already five of them in an institution, where they may not only be instructed in Christian principles and practice, but formed, through the grace of our Saviour, into evangelists among their own nation."

The Brethren, at this period, attempted the establishment of a mission among the Creek Indians, whose numbers are estimated at about 70, to 80,000, chiefly living within the territory of the United States. For this purpose Br. Steiner visited their country in the autumn of 1803, and received from Colonel Hawkins, the agent for the Indians, much valuable information respecting them, and encouraging assurances of protection in the good work he had in view. Two missionaries proceeded into their country in

the year 1807, and were provided with a house by Colonel Hawkins, at his settlement on the river Flint. They suffered much from sickness on their arrival; but, after their recovery, they omitted no opportunity of testifying to their numerous Indian visitors the love of God to sinners of every race; though they lamented that these Indians seemed to have no ears to hear the Gospel, nor hearts open to receive it. They were encouraged, however, by the head Chief of the Creeks (Alic Colonel) and his daughter, who came to the Flint river in 1811, and listened attentively to the preaching of the Gospel. The Chief told the missionaries "that many of the old Indians often spoke of the Saviour. They could not indeed read the old book, (meaning the Bible) but they were not wholly unacquainted with the subject." The unsettled state of the country, however, during the ensuing war with the Creeks, rendered it necessary to abandon this station.

Among the visitors of the mission at *Spring Place*, was Captain Norton, by birth a Cherokee, but adopted by the Mohawks; he had translated the Gospel of St. John into the Mohawk language, which was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, while he was in England as a deputy from his nation. His object on his present journey was to "cover the grave of his father with wampum," and likewise to declare to his own countrymen the love of God in Christ Jesus. But, to the great regret of the missionaries, he was unable to accomplish the latter part of his design. They were not left, however, entirely without evidence of the effects of their labour; the baptism of the first fruits of the Cherokee nation, Margaret Ann Crutchfield, (who became a valuable assistant in the mission) on the 13th of August, 1811, encouraged them anew, patiently to wait for the day of visitation. In temporal matters they had been helped beyond their expectation; they introduced several useful trades, and cultivated the land with great success; enjoying, likewise, the favour and confidence of the Chiefs.

In 1814, they baptized Charles Renatus Hicks, one of their pupils, who was afterwards chosen king of one of the

tribes of the Cherokees. He proved a faithful and devoted follower of the Lord Jesus, and an active and zealous promoter of Christianity and the arts of civilized life among his countrymen.

A brighter day now began to dawn upon the Cherokees, and Br. Gambold and his wife, who had laboured for many years with unparalleled perseverance, but with little success, had at last the joy of perceiving the salutary effect of the word of the Cross. Many who had formerly exhibited particular enmity, now came asking what they must do to be saved. Their little chapel was filled to overflowing; some of the Indians travelled 20, and even 30 miles to attend the services. Nine were added to the Church by baptism in the year 1819, who gave evidence of the reality of the change that had been effected in their hearts, by a walk and conversation becoming the Gospel; others followed their example, and in a short time it was found necessary to establish a new missionary station at a place called *Oochyelogy*, (about 30 miles from Spring Place) the neighbourhood of which was more particularly the seat of this memorable awakening. It was also the central point of the national government. Br. Steiner was present at the first grand council held there, and was requested by the Chiefs to dedicate the new council-house by solemn prayer to God, and the delivery of a sermon.

The labour of the missionaries among the poor negroes in their neighbourhood, was also not without effect; the diligence with which old and young attended the Sunday-school opened for their instruction, was highly gratifying.

The peculiar circumstances of the Cherokee nation rendered it impossible to collect them together in a missionary settlement. All those who had become impressed with a concern for their salvation, lived scattered on their valuable plantations, and were employed in their cultivation; this increased the labour of the missionaries, but the evils which are inseparable from Indians living together in towns were thereby avoided. The Cherokees, indeed, had made greater advances in civilization than any other Indian na-

tion; the English language was adopted as the official one, in which their records were kept, and many individuals of the greatest influence had altogether discarded the Indian language and customs, their way of life differing but little from that of substantial farmers. The younger Chiefs especially were anxious for instruction, and greatly favoured the missionary and school establishments. The Government of the United States, at this period, had also devoted an annual sum for the purpose of advancing Indian civilization, chiefly in aid of such societies and individuals as had already undertaken the benevolent work. The Brethren received from this fund 250 dollars on account of their labours among the Cherokees, with a promise of defraying two-thirds of all building expences which might become necessary. This unlooked-for assistance was peculiarly acceptable under the existing circumstances of the mission.

Both at Spring Place and Oochgelogy the work of the Lord continued to prosper, and additional labourers were sent forth into this encouraging field. The first baptized converts also were extremely active in imparting to their countrymen a knowledge of the way of salvation, both by indefatigable translation of the words of the missionaries, and by their own experimental comments. But now they began to suffer from the malice of the enemy; in 1821, a party arose among the Cherokees, who opposed the spread both of Christianity and civilization, and repeatedly attempted to murder the baptized Chief, Charles Renatus Hicks, through whose example and influence the nation had derived the most important benefits. The efforts of this party were, however, in vain; the preaching of the Gospel was more numerously attended, and listened to with greater emotion, than before. The blessings of civilization also seemed to be secured to the Cherokees, when, in 1825, they resolved to establish an academy and a printing press at Newtown, the principal town in their country.*

But events of a political nature soon afterwards arose,

* A newspaper was here established, printed both in the English and the Cherokee languages.—See note on p. 8.

which placed both the nation and the mission in very critical circumstances. The Government of the United States having obtained from the State of Georgia the cession of a large portion of its chartered territory, agreed in return to extinguish the claims of the Indians residing within their boundaries, by purchasing their lands, and removing them to the west of the Mississippi. The Federal Government had expended several millions of dollars in endeavouring to fulfil this contract. But the Cherokees, having become in a great measure an agricultural people, were no longer indifferent to the place of their location, and determined to sell no more of the soil, which they considered their paternal inheritance. They also wished to have a written constitution similar to other States, and thus establish an independent community and government within the state of Georgia. This measure brought on a crisis, and the Indians were informed that they must choose between submission to the laws of Georgia, and emigration—to this latter alternative, those who had embraced Christianity were strongly opposed, regarding it as a step towards a relapse into barbarism;—to the former they were equally averse. They addressed a remonstrance to the Supreme Court of Justice in 1830, which, however, was unfavourably received, and they remained in a state of anxious suspence respecting their future destiny.

In the mean time the missionaries were required by the Government of Georgia to take an oath prejudicial to the interests of the Indians, or else to leave the country. The Brethren Clauder and Nathanael Byham chose the latter alternative, and found a temporary home at the house of Captain M'Nair, about 18 miles from Spring Place, within the state of Tennessee. They were afterwards permitted to return. But in March, 1831, Br. Clauder was arrested by the Georgian militia at Oochgelogy, and obliged to retire from the Indian territory. Br. Byham, at Spring Place was exempted from the same necessity, owing to his office of postmaster. Under these trying circumstances the believing Cherokees could look forward, with resignation to the Lord's will, to the ultimate issue of

the troubles in which they in common with their countrymen were involved. When left without a teacher at Oochgelogy, the converts maintained their spiritual fellowship with each other, and were in the habit of assembling every Lord's day in the Mission-house for prayer, praise, and the perusal of the Scriptures, desiring to grow in grace, and in the love and knowledge of their Lord and Saviour.

In the beginning of 1832, Clauder was appointed to the office of postmaster at Spring Place, instead of his fellow labourer Byham, who was compelled to retire, after taking an affecting leave of the Indian flock. Soon after this, the Government of Georgia disposed of the Indian lands by lottery; and the new proprietors endeavoured to eject the former possessors. The mission premises at both stations were forcibly occupied by strangers, and the missionaries again took refuge with Captain M'Nair, in the state of Tennessee. Many members of the Indian congregation followed them; and they were soon enabled to see and to acknowledge, that whatever God permits, must issue in his glory. Br. Clauder regularly visited those who still remained at Oochgelogy, and other places; and under all disadvantages, he had the happiness to perceive that the Cherokee flock continued to walk worthy of the Gospel, although temptations on the part of white intruders, and of their own countrymen, were not wanting.

The latest accounts from this mission, state that several hundreds of the Cherokees had already emigrated to the river Arkansas, and that many more intended to follow them. Br. Clauder meanwhile had opened a school at his temporary abode on the frontiers of the State of Georgia, for the benefit of those who remain. His Indian congregation consists of about 100 persons, who assemble with great devotion for divine service; and in Aug. 1837, the Lord's Supper was administered to 45 communicants, to the strengthening of their faith, under the manifold trials to which they are exposed, and in anticipation of that rest which remaineth for the people of God.*

* This mission, we believe, is entirely supported by the Society of the United Brethren for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, established at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, in the year 1787.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE congregation of Indians at Fairfield in Upper Canada, continued in a state of tranquillity for several years, but they increased very slowly in number. Few from among the heathen came to supply the place of those who had emigrated with Zeisberger to form the settlement of Goshen. Fairfield, indeed, had become almost entirely surrounded by white settlers, who offered to the neighbouring savages such temptations to intoxication as few were able to withstand. The rum and whisky trade, in fact, appears to be the grand cause of the depravity of manners among the heathen Indians. This ruinous commerce was first begun under the English Government, and it is now carried on under that and the American to a great extent. It has indeed never been legally authorised by them, but they have adopted no energetic measures to prevent it. It was much to the honour of the ancient French Government, that as long as they held possession of Canada, they had no hand in it, they accounted it both wicked and impolitic, and never permitted it. And surely they were right in their judgment. A habit of drunkenness unfits both body and mind for every active and vigorous pursuit, and promotes lewdness and dissipation. Hence that very commerce, which was intended to be furthered and increased by the trade in spirits, is in fact hindered and lessened by it; it defeats its own end, it diminishes the number of the hunters, and both prevents and disables those who survive from pursuing their business. Surely a traffic so shameful, so unjust, and so destructive, ought not to be tolerated by any people, who (not to mention religion) make the least pretension to humanity.

The evils arising from this trade were experienced also in Fairfield.* Though the major part of the congregation

* On one occasion a negro procured from the white people a keg of whisky, which he left in the wood adjoining Fairfield, while he proceeded to the town, for the purpose of inviting certain of the inhabitants to become purchasers. During his absence some hogs discovered the keg,

walked worthy of their profession, and grew in all those graces which adorn the Christian character, yet several of the young members acquired habits of intemperance, to the great grief of the missionaries, who, on that account, excluded them from their fellowship. But when the zeal and hope of these faithful men began to droop, in consequence of the perplexities and trials of various kinds incident to their station, they were cheered by the return of several backsliders to the fold, who, with true contrition of heart, bemoaned their transgressions, and sought forgiveness. It was encouraging also to the missionaries to perceive that many of the children born and baptized in the settlement, as they matured in age and understanding, experienced the converting influences of the Holy Spirit.

The missionary Dencke and his wife were diligently employed in teaching the youth to read both the English and Indian languages, and improved that opportunity to instruct them more fully in the saving truths of the Gospel. On Sundays, the children were called upon to repeat those portions of the Scripture which they had learnt at school, in the presence of the congregation: this always proved a means of edification to the Indians, and especially to the parents of the children.

The war which broke out in 1813, obliged many of the Indian Brethren and Sisters who were residing at Pettquotting, and other places on the frontiers of the United States, to take refuge in Fairfield. Strange Indians of various tribes were also brought thither by the same cause. Here they heard the word of God, and the missionaries fervently prayed that it might be the means of exciting in them a desire for teachers to be sent to them likewise. But before the close of the year, Fairfield itself was involved in

and overturned it. The bung had not been properly secured, and every drop of the liquor ran out. The owner on his return was greatly mortified at his loss, and his customers were obliged to go home without being able to quench their thirst. The more worthy members of the congregation rejoiced at the event, and thanked the Lord, for having, by means of the hogs, saved them from the evils of a drunken frolic in the town.

all the horrors of war. After Malden and Detroit were occupied by the Americans under General Harrison, the missionaries and the congregation perceived it would be impossible for them to remain at Fairfield. The Indians, under those trying circumstances, expressed their resignation to the will of God, but deprecated the painful alternative of being separated from their teachers. It was therefore resolved, that Br. Dencke and his wife should accompany them whithersoever the Lord might direct their flight; while Br. Schnall and his wife, who were both ailing, with the aged and infirm Br. Michael Young, should return to Bethlehem. On the 2nd of October, 70 sick British soldiers arrived, and occupied the church. The houses also, both of the missionaries and Indians, were filled with fugitives from various parts. On the following day, however, the surgeon permitted the church to be cleared for the usual Sunday's service, which the missionaries little anticipated would be the conclusion of their worship in that place. In the evening General Proctor arrived and intimated his intention of fortifying Fairfield, which made the further stay of the congregation impossible. The Indians therefore set out on the 4th, and formed a camp a few miles up the river. Sister Dencke followed them in a canoe on the 5th. On the same day a battle was fought about two miles below Fairfield, in which the British were defeated. The missionaries remained together until the retreating army entered the settlement, when they were obliged to part.

On the arrival of the Americans, they told Br. Schnall that he, being a missionary, was not to be considered a prisoner of war, but he must not be offended that his house was to be guarded during the night. All their trunks and boxes were now opened, and every place was strictly examined on suspicion of king's stores and English officers being secreted in the settlement. The family spent the night in silent prayer to the Lord, commending themselves, and the white people who had sought refuge with them, to His almighty protection. Next day the Americans began to plunder the place, and seized every thing belong-

ing to the missionaries; nor would General Harrison grant them any compensation, Fairfield being in his opinion an English garrison town! Br. Schnall, however, experienced great kindness from Commodore Perry, who procured a passport for the missionaries, that they might be enabled to depart without molestation; by his interposition also they gained time to pack up their goods, but their luggage was thoroughly searched before they were permitted to load their waggon. Not the smallest article however was found, which could tend to impeach their character. The General now hastened their flight; and they were obliged to leave all their furniture behind them. After they left the place it was set on fire, and every house was burned to the ground.

On the 15th, the missionaries Schnall and Young, with the wife and daughter of the former, arrived at Detroit, where General Cass furnished them with a passport to go to Bethlehem. In the prosecution of their journey they experienced great hardships, but likewise many signal proofs of the favour and protection of the Lord.

When Br. Dencke left Fairfield on the evening of the 5th, he proceeded to the Indian camp, where he found his wife alone; for the Indians, having been frightened by reports brought by other fugitives, had all fled into the woods. He knew not where to go in search of them, nor what further steps to take. In this state of uncertainty they providentially met with a man who offered to carry them in his waggon to Delaware-town. On their way thither, besides other hardships, they were attacked by a gang of robbers of the Kikkapoo and Shawanose tribes, who took from them nearly all the articles of clothing and goods they had left, together with their books and papers, not leaving them either a Bible or Testament.

On their arrival at Delaware-town, however, their sorrow was turned into joy. A number of the Indian brethren and sisters who had previously reached the place, came out to meet them, thanking God, with tears in their eyes, that they were again united. Messengers were quickly dispatched into the woods to search for those who were still absent.

They were soon collected together, and only one sister was missing, who had been murdered below Fairfield.

The Indians built themselves huts near lake Ontario, and a chapel, which was opened for divine worship at Christmas. At the close of 1813, the congregation consisted of 160 members, besides 23 not yet baptized, who regularly attended the preaching of the Gospel. In the following spring they removed from the neighbourhood of the lake, to a more safe and wholesome situation about ten miles from Burlington Heights. One of their greatest trials arose from the total stoppage of all communication with their Brethren in the United States, and the non-arrival of letters from England. They therefore esteemed it as a singular favour from the Lord, when the Loyal and Patriotic Society at York (on lake Ontario) sent an unsolicited remittance of 100 dollars to the missionary, with a promise of farther assistance should he require it. "This money (says Br. Dencke) came into my hands just when I was in want of it, and made me gratefully and humbly remember the words of our Saviour: 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.'"

On the conclusion of peace in 1815, between England and America, the Indians returned to Fairfield, and dwelt in huts on the site of their former buildings, till they had erected a new town rather higher up, on the opposite bank of the river, which was called New Fairfield. The missionary Schmidt was sent to the assistance of Br. Dencke; and their new chapel was opened on the 17th of Sept., and solemnly dedicated to the service of God. Here they continued to enjoy rest and peace. The missionaries were strengthened with faith and courage for their future service, and the Lord graciously blessed their endeavours. A new awakening took place among the inhabitants of the settlement, such as had not been seen of late years; and several conversions from among the heathen afforded renewed proofs of the power of the word of the cross on the most debased hearts. The most remarkable was that of the sorcerer Onim, who from his youth had given evidence of hostility to the mission. He was one of those who calumniated

John Papunhank at Friedenshutten. (See p. 190.) At that time he wore a tomahawk in his girdle, and when asked what he intended to do with it, replied; "to cleave the missionaries' sculls for deceiving the Indians." He despised and ridiculed the Gospel way of salvation, saying, "I have another way to be saved, *according to my creation.*"* This enmity he exhibited on all occasions, until the infirmities of age put a stop to his activity. But he had heard words which "laid hold of his soul;" and when he was laid on a bed of sickness he sent for the assistant Jacob, to "show him the right way." He was afterwards visited by the missionary, and the change wrought in his heart by the Holy Spirit was made manifest in the most striking manner. On the occasion of his baptism the Indians were delighted, saying, "Onim, our enemy, is become our brother Leonard."

In the year 1823 the remaining members of the Indian congregation at Goshen joined their brethren at Fairfield. About the same time, also, their number was further augmented by several from among the heathen. The course of the congregation from that period until the present year, was marked by few events of importance. They enjoyed outward tranquillity, but a decay of internal life became perceptible. In the year 1834 a desire to emigrate exhibited itself in the congregation. They learned that several Delaware towns are located on the Arkansas river, 500 miles west of the Mississippi, and two brethren were deputed to reconnoitre that district. Their report was unfavourable; but the minds of the majority of the Indians continued bent on emigration, and in the month of June last, they put their design into execution. About 200 left Fairfield, accompanied by the missionary Jesse Vogler. Only about 80 now remain in the settlement. The emigrants intended to proceed across Lake Huron and Green Bay, and thence to the Missouri. May the Great Shepherd lead them in safety, and overrule this singular event to the promotion of His glory, and the spread of the Gospel among many tribes yet sitting in Pagan darkness.

* An Indian phrase, signifying, "according to the appointment of the Great Spirit."

The number of Indians baptized by the Brethren cannot be exactly ascertained, in consequence of their Church registers having been burnt when the settlements were destroyed on the Muskingum. But in the year 1772, they amounted to 720; and Heckewelder says, "from the commencement to the year 1808, between 13 and 1400 were baptized." Since that period, many more have been added to the Church, especially from among the Cherokees. The missionaries, indeed, were not anxious to baptize any, except those who gave evidence by their walk and conversation that they had been taught by the Spirit of God, and were possessed of a living faith; otherwise they might have increased their number by many nominal Christians. But we ought not to measure the extent of the influence of the Gospel among the heathen, by the number which submitted to the baptismal rite; for the Brethren had pleasing proofs that the seed of the word, which they often sowed in tears and apparently in vain, sprang up after many days in the hearts of some who died unbaptized. It is also evident that a knowledge of the truth must have spread far and wide among the Indians, not only from the labours of the missionaries, and the zeal of their converted assistants, but also from the malice of their enemies, who, in a manner, preached the Gospel to their savage countrymen, by drawing their attention to the Indian congregation, who were suffering patiently for its sake. The day of judgment and the book of life will fully reveal the results of the Brethren's mission in North America; but what has already been disclosed, is sufficient to encourage them to press forward with renewed zeal, in their witness-bearing work, and to stimulate all who feel an interest in the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, to pray for them, that their simple testimony might be accompanied by the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power from on high, until the remotest tribes shall see the salvation of God.

THE END.

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